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Daily Comments on 'Terror' Against Albanians

LD0503120989 Tirana ATA in English
0920 GMT 5 Mar 89

["The Road of Violence and Arbitrariness Does Not Solve the Problems of Kosovo"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 5 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" carries on March 5 an article written by Prof. Luan Omari, which says among others:

The establishment of the state of emergency in Kosovo, the application of curfew, the beginning of the Albanians' arrests based on the black lists compiled by the Serbian chauvinists, indicate that following perennial campaign against the Albanian people of Kosovo, against the cultural and historic inheritance, against their national rights sanctioned also in the Constitution of the SFRY of the year 1974, it is again passed from what is rightfully defined as verbal terror into the genuine physical terror.

This new escalation in the employment of violence, which is an ordinary phenomenon in Kosovo's life especially since 1981, has been prepared by an unprecedented anti-Albanian campaign, developed in newspapers, radio, television and the so called rallies of solidarity with the Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo organised in various places of Yugoslavia, aiming at blackening everything Albanian, to present the Albanians of Kosovo as barbarians, violators, applicants of genocide etc. It is clear to every objecting observer, who knows the situation in Kosovo, that a population against which operates a whole military and police apparatus guided directly from Belgrade and which is extended in every city, locality or village in Kosovo, can not exercise terror the less so genocide. [as received]

The Albanians, the article stresses, can never forget the barbarisms, massacres and exodus which in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia assumed the shape of a genuine genocide, which lacked nothing from the one applied in the Yugoslavia of Karageorgevics.

After 1981 a new wave of terror again overran the people of Kosovo. And here we do not speak of hundreds of thousands who emigrated in Turkey and various countries of Europe.

It can be said that these belong to the past and the new leaders of the Yugoslav Federation and Serbia are not responsible for the actions of their predecessors. But unfortunately these actions are going on. According to official data publicly reported and issued in the Yugoslav press by Rahman Morina, whose name is launched with tremendous ovations in all the squares of Belgrade, from the year 1981 to March 1988 in Kosovo there have been condemned 75,000 people for penal acts and 95,000 others for infringements. In other ways 314,000 people have been treated by the intelligence organs. Thus, for a seven year period in Kosovo, 584,000 people, that is half of the adult population of the province has been treated by their courts and intelligence organs, in various ways.

And now again Kosovo becomes the object of military measures accompanied by mass arrests. The democratic public opinion, the article emphasizes cannot fail to put the question: Why this "hunt of witches", why such savage measures? Perhaps, for the massive manifestations of the Albanians of November 1988 which were conducted quietly, demanding to maintain the 1974 Constitution, hence, the judicial order in power and where, according to Yugoslav authorities, there were launched no hostile slogans? Or for the hunger strike of 1300 Albanian miners of Stari Trg which aroused the sympathy of the democratic public opinion of various countries, even that of Yugosalvia, owing to their quiet and dignified stand? One cannot fail to notice that the imposition of the state of emergency, the wave of arrests, the appeals for settling accounts with the Albanians, are made on the threshold of the session of the Provincial Assembly of Kosovo which within March, should voice its opinion on the amendments to Serbia's Constitution, recently approved by the Assembly of this republic and which aim at gravely infringing on the autonomy of the provinces. It is not difficult to imagine on what circumstances of oppression, terror and fear the provincial assembly has to decide, despite the fact that through broad discussions all the Albanian people of Kosovo have unanimously expressed themselves against those amendments which are openly spearheaded against the autonomy of the province.

It is clear that under such circumstances the most elementary human and citizen's rights, sanctioned also in Yugoslavia's Constitution are infringed upon, the road to any constructive dialogue is closed and the green light is given to open violence.

The way of violence and arbitrariness against the Albanians not only does not reconcile with the democratic tendencies and aspirations which are increasingly affirmed throughout the world, but is creating possibilities and premises for its extension also to the detriment of the other peoples of Yugoslavia. From this point of view "the battle for Kosovo" of which the big Serbs speak is in reality the battle for Yugoslavia.

The public opinion of our country, the article stresses in conclusion, resolutely opposing the violence and terror that have broken out in Kosovo, is interested in the fact that Kosovo's numerous problems be solved with wisdom and coolheadedness. This is firstly to the interest of Yugoslavia, to its stability and future, to the interest of peace and security in our Balkan region.

Carcani Meets With Workers in Lezhe District

Tours Cooperatives

AU0103123489 Tirana ATA in English
0930 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Comrade Adil Carcani Meets With Workers and Cooperativists of Lezhe District"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, March 1 (ATA)—The member of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani went these days to Lezhe District. He was received by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Hiqmet Cuka, and the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Irakli Vero.

At the food enterprise, Comrade Adil Carcani visited some new production lines where he was acquainted with the work done to increase the quantity and diversity and to improve the quality of the food products for the people. While talking with the workers and specialists of this enterprise, Adil Carcani congratulated them for the achievements they have scored.

The increase of the food products and the improvement of their quality, Comrade Adil Carcani stressed, influence directly in the uplift of the people's well-being, in the constant improvement of the supply of the market.

Likewise, Comrade Adil Carcani went also to the "Fran Ivanaj" Agricultural Cooperative [word indistinct] where he met with distinguished cooperativists and brigade leaders, leading cadres, specialists of agriculture, livestock, and other sectors. He was informed of the achievements of this economy, as well as of the good work that has begun in the context of implementing the decisions of the 7th plenum of the CC of the party and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia, which have given an impulse to the fulfillment of tasks.

Comrade Adil Carcani went also to some trade units of the city, where he took an interest in the supply of the inhabitants. He also visited families of workers and cooperativists.

Continues Visit

AU0403152489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Today Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, visited the Gjader sector of the Lezhe Agricultural Enterprise. He visited the calf-rearing unit and conducted talks with stock-breeders, cooperativists, specialists, and cadres. Assessing the achievements of this sector, Comrade Adil Carcani instructed that the entire material and technical base available should be used with a high degree of efficiency, that organization should be raised to a higher level, control over the implementation of tasks should be tightened, and socialist competition should be further promoted.

Comrade Adil Carcani also attended the Lezhe District AWP Committee plenum. Speaking about some achievements in Lezhe District in the agricultural sector, at the same time he drew attention to the fact that agricultural and livestock sector plans have not been completely fulfilled over the past 3 years. He pointed out that the favorable soil, irrigation, and mechanization conditions must be used more efficiently to achieve higher results in agriculture and the livestock sector, adding that this is completely feasible. Talking about the measures adopted by the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum pertaining to the development of productive forces in agriculture, he stressed the great importance of further developing production relations. He drew attention to the need to raise initiative and to stimulate everyone's interest in work, in order to more rapidly increase agricultural and livestock production. This question must not be left to a limited number of economists, but must become the concern of all specialists, cadres, and working people.

Comrade Adil Carcani added that the harmonization of all production factors is of special importance, and is even a determinant. All manifestations of empiricism in this field are harmful to these factors. He also stressed the need to increase the amount of organic fertilizer per hectare of arable land, to increase the number of working people, and to cultivate the fields in conformity with all agro-technical charts.

He went on to say that the implementation of the decisions of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum requires concrete management at brigade level and this is also related to the distribution of the products of brigade level plots and herds to the cooperativists at the actual production cost.

In conclusion, he said that the food processing industry, the transportation sector, and so forth, must do more to assist agriculture. He also stressed that the basic party organizations and organs must intensify their efforts to stimulate initiative and independent action at brigade level. People must not expect every solution from above, he stated.

Foreign Trade Minister Korbeci Leaves for Vienna

AU0403200289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] A government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci, left today for the Republic of Austria.

Trade, Payments Protocol Signed With Vietnam

AU0403200489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] A trade and payments protocol for 1989 was signed in Hanoi between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Minister of Construction Ismail Ahmeti, and for the Vietnamese side by Minister of Foreign Trade Doan Duy Thanh.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will export to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam bitumen, copper wires, pyrite concentrate, and so forth, and will import coffee, rubber, coconut oil, rice, and so forth.

Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, received the Albanian government trade delegation, led by Minister of Construction Ismail Ahmeti. The meeting was also attended by Minister of Foreign Trade Doan Duy Thanh, and Syrja Laze, ambasador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Hanoi.

The reception passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Trade, Cultural Agreement Signed With Spain

AU0403200089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] A protocol on trade and payments, and a protocol on cultural, educational, and scientific cooperation has been signed with Spain.

36th Anniversary of Stalin's Death Marked

AU0403155289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the death of J.V. Stalin, distinguished Marxist-Leninist and worthy successor of the immortal deeds of V.I. Lenin, a number of activities have been organized in various districts. In this context, the AWP Committee of the Stalin textile combine in Tirana organized a meeting, at which the audience listened to a talk entitled: "Stalin—A Great Proletarian Internationalist." A talk entitled: "Stalin and His Revolutionary Deed" was delivered at the 21 December construction enterprise. In Stalin City, meetings were held in various enterprises, at which working people listened to talks on the staunch struggle of the AWP in defense of Stalin and his deeds, against the slanders and distortions of the modern revisionists, about his personality as an internationalist and great friend of our people, and so forth. Excerpts were also read from Comrade Enver Hoxha's book "With Stalin (Memoirs)." In addition, a photographic exhibition was opened, illustrating aspects of Stalin's life and work. Activities were also carried out in the Stalin cooperative in Poshnje.

In the city of Shkoder, pupils listened to lectures on Stalin's revolutionary life and work. A talk entitled: "Stalin—Distinguished Marxist-Leninist," was given at the Koplik cooperative bearing his name. At the J.V. Stalin hydropower plant and at the Stalin agricultural cooperative bearing his name in Muzine, Sarande District, and in various other places in the same district, talks were given, illustrating the life and work of that loyal successor of Lenin and his contribution to the consistent defense and implementation of Marxism-Leninism. Artistic soirees were also held and documentary movies were screened.

Wreaths were laid before J.V. Stalin's bust at the Agimi cooperative in Fier District, and a photographic exhibition was opened in the house of culture.

Commemorative activities also took place in Lushnje, Vlore, and other districts.

Economic Progress Report for 25 Feb-4 Mar 89

AU0403173189

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 25 February-4 March carries the following economic performance reports (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Durres District: Forty-eight collectives report having prefulfilled the January-February plan. (1900 GMT 28 Feb 89)

Lusnje District: The 2-month industrial plan has been exceeded by 5 percent. (1430 GMT 3 Mar 89)

Mat District: The overall industrial plan for the January-February period was fulfilled by 101.7 percent, or 1.2 million leks over the plan. (1900 GMT 28 Feb 89)

Pogradec District: The January-February industrial production plan has been overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1430 GMT 3 Mar 89)

Shkoder District: Thirty collectives report having fulfilled the 2-month plan. (1900 GMT 28 Feb 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24 Feb-3 Mar

AU0303165189

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 24 February-3 March reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited Lezhe District on 28 February. (1900 GMT 28 Feb 89)

Polish Foreign Minister Concludes Talks, Departs

Mladenov, Olechowski Confer

AU2802124989 Sofia BTA in English 1221 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—Today, on the second day of the visit to Bulgaria of Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, the head of the Polish diplomacy, the satisfaction was confirmed with the development of bilateral relations in all spheres of life.

During the final talks with Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgaria's foreign affairs minister, at whose invitation that visit is, the significance was stressed of the dialogue and of the agreements reached between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski for an upward interrelation.

Analyzing the state of cooperation in the sphere of economy the favourable possibilities were stressed, created for its activation as a result of the restructuring taking place in the two countries. The general opinion is that there are possibilities for the application of new, more efficient forms of cooperation, for the raising of the economic ties to a qualitatively new level. It was indicated that the active economic relations are not only to the interest of the two countries and the two peoples, but also to the improvement of labour division between the fraternal countries and of contacts in the economy with all states.

A positive assessment was given to bilateral relations in the sphere of policy and to cultural relations and the importance was stressed of the direct communication between people from the two countries.

Discussing international issues the two sides ascertained with satisfaction the positive changes in the world as a result of the new political thinking. The agreements reached at the Vienna meeting show the possibilities for solving the problems in the world when there is good will. Bulgaria and Poland confirmed their readiness to take constructive part in the forthcoming talks on the reduction of armies and conventional weapons in Europe and on the confidence building and security strengthening measures. The sides noted the specific importance of the initiatives of Bulgaria and Poland and of the other fraternal countries in the context of the idea for the construction of a common European house.

The two foreign ministers noted with satisfaction the advance in the settlement of the regional conflicts and of other international problems.

As a result of the exchange of opinions the complete coincidence of Bulgaria's and Poland's positions on the international issues in the spirit of the resolutions of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states was ascertained. In this respect it was stressed that it is necessary to make more dynamic the cooperation between the fraternal countries in accordance with the requirements of the present times.

During the talk the two sides paid attention to the deep changes underway in Bulgaria and Poland aiming at the strengthening and enrichment of socialism. The two ministers stressed the common aims and principles which inspire the changes in the two countries, the need of further consideration of the tactics and strategy of socialism in unison with the new historical content of the present days.

The talks passed in the spirit of sincerity and creative discussion, in cordial friendly atmosphere.

Olechowski News Conference

AU0103135289 Sofia BTA in English 1254 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The Polish foreign minister emphasized today that there are no political problems between Poland and Bulgaria, that the progressing bilateral relations are in the best interests of both countries and of the socialist community as a whole.

Before leaving the country where he paid a two-day friendly working visit, Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, minister of foreign affairs of Poland, told the Bulgarian and the foreign press that he was pleased with the talks he had had with the Bulgarian party leader and head of state, Mr Todor Zhivkov, and with other officials. He stressed the identity of the views which the two countries hold on the matters discussed.

The guest talked about the untapped opportunities for cooperation above all in economics, science and technology. In this connection he noted the need to apply new, more efficient forms of interaction, which will undoubtedly provide an opportunity for increased trade exchanges.

The obstacles to the promotion of tourism will be removed as well, and the two countries will be working hard to strengthen their human contacts.

Mr Tadeusz Olechowski said that his agenda here covered a wide range of international issues. Poland and Bulgaria had reaffirmed their desire to keep working for the building of a common European home. The sides had commended highly each other's regional initiatives seeking to build peace and security.

In conclusion, the chief Polish diplomat praised Bulgaria's achievements in all spheres of life and discussed the role of the Polish United Workers Party as an initiator of renewal in Poland.

PAP on News Briefing

LD0103231289 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Tadeusz Olechowski Ends Working Visit"—PAP headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1—This morning, after returning from Plovdiv and soon before flying back home, Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said at a press conference that his exceptionally important and business-like talks in Bulgaria would have great significance for the future development of Polish-Bulgarian relations.

The Polish minister highly sized up the possibility to have a lengthy meeting with General Secretary of the Communist Party of Bulgaria CC Todor Zhivkov, at which both sides stated essential convergence of the goals of renewal of socialism and restructuring in Poland and Bulgaria with the perestroyka in the USSR. The Polish minister stressed also great importance of his meeting with Premier Georgi Atanasov with whom he discussed the prospects for further development of Polish-Bulgarian cooperation.

We exchanged views on the entirety of bilateral relations together with Minister Petur Mladenov and sized them up positively or very positively. However, this does not mean that we cannot do more.

We discussed also topics of tourism and the elimination of some barriers in this respect.

Olechowski stressed that there were no political problems between Poland and Bulgaria. Bulgaria supports the Jaruzelski plan and Poland supports the initiative to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. Both countries strive to jointly implement the idea of building common European home.

A joint communique was adopted at the end of Minister Olechowski's visit to Bulgaria

Discusses Tourism Regulations

LD0103231689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski is ending his working visit to Bulgaria. At a news conference held in Sofia at the end of the visit our correspondent Marek Sieczkowski asked a question which may interest many Poles. Let us listen to it:

[Begin recording] [Sieczkowski] The most important thing to the people is the matter of making tourism easier. Perhaps, one sentence on this subject.

[Olechowski] We will probably be able to say to the Poles in the very near future that trips to Bulgaria will not require invitations. This is perhaps a very great concession in relation to the regulations in force so far.

[Sieczkowski] One can assume that you and Minister Mladenov are opening wide the door for Poles to go to Bulgaria. [end recording]

Olechowski Departs 1 Mar

AU0103102889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] The 2-day friendly working visit to Bulgaria of Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski has ended. A short while ago the Polish guest departed from Bulgaria. At Sofia airport he was seen off by Comrade Petur Mladenov and other officials.

Prior to his departure Tadeusz Olechowski met Bulgarian and Polish journalists, who covered his visit to Bulgaria. He highly evaluated his meetings and talks with Bulgarian leaders and expressed satisfaction with the results and agreements that have been reached and that are related to intensifying bilateral contacts in many areas.

Announcement Issued on Visit

AU0103135589 Sofia BTA in English 1322 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Joint Announcement on Tadeusz Olechowski's Visit"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The visit to Bulgaria by the chief Polish diplomat, Mr Tadeusz Olechowski, has reaffirmed the identity in principle of the objectives of the restructuring and renewal of socialism in Bulgaria and in Poland with those of perestroyka in the Soviet Union.

A joint announcement on the two-day friendly working visit here by Poland's minister of foreign affairs, which ended today, stresses the great importance of the meetings between the first party leaders and heads of state of the two countries, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski, for the promotion of fraternal ties.

The document indicates that during Mr Olechowski's talks with his Bulgarian counterpart, Mr Petur Mladenov, the sides have expressed a shared willingness to promote their business contacts on the basis of new, more efficient forms, to help the increasing closeness between the two peoples and, to this end, to liberalize further their citizens' foreign travel, tourist trips included. The enhancement of the friendship and cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland serves the best interests of the two peoples and helps strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries.

Bulgaria and Poland declare themselves in favour of an improved mechanism of interaction within the Warsaw Treaty and of orienting the reform of the C.M.E.A.

operation toward the creation of a single socialist market. The establishment of formal relations between the C.M.E.A. and the Common Market was found to be contributing substantially to the promotion of Europe-wide business cooperation.

The announcement takes notice of the positive changes in international relations, brought about by new political thinking, and emphasizes that Mr Mikhail Gorbachev's UN speech contains a wide-ranging political platform for the democratization, demilitarization and humanization of international relations.

Bulgaria and Poland favour the achievement of early and meaningful agreements at the forthcoming talks on conventional forces in Europe.

The two countries are committed to the inviolability of European frontiers, to respect for the existing territorial and political realities. They welcome the on-schedule completion of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and declare themselves in favour of a peaceful and comprehensive settlement of the Afghan problem without any outside interference whatsoever, with strict observance of the Geneva accords by all parties concerned.

Article Examines Past of Arrested Dissidents

AU1802210589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 13 Jan 89 Evening Edition (page number not available)

[Article by Georgi Grozdev entitled: "Hypocrisy of the Lovers of Justice"]

[Text] Recently Radio Free Europe and other Western information media have been eagerly interviewing a certain Eduard Genov. According to them, this Bulgarian citizen was allegedly expelled by the Bulgarian authorities because he campaigned very actively for human rights. The described media also mention the names of Ekaterina Markova, Khristo Svatovski, Grigor Simov, and Ivan Yankov, who were also expelled because of similar activity. They were all allegedly members of some society for the defense of human rights, whose chairman was said to be the 71-year-old Iliya Minev from the town of Septemvri.

The editorial office of OTECHESTVEN FRONT has been receiving inquiries—readers are wondering what sort of people these "heroes" are, what the details are, and whether it is true that they were expelled. Here, we submit the facts that have been established from our reporters' inquiries.

First, we made an inquiry at the District Court in Pazardzhik, in order to check whether such a society existed. It is a well-known fact that according to the requirements of the law, all associations must be registered at the district court of the area where they are situated. Recently various associations and cooperatives have been registered, but the society we are discussing is not among them. What are the reasons for this? Leaving aside the handbill that the self-styled chairman describes as an application, as well as the "aims"—which are formulated in a rather vague, confused, and illiterate manner—one is impressed by two things. The "application" bears the signatures of persons who are abroad, who thus could not have appended their signatures. Probably, the "chairman" is well aware that in any civilized state such forgery of documents is subject to legal prosecution. What is more, some of the signatories declare in writing that they were not acquainted with the contents of the "application" in question, and had not added their own signatures to it.

Another detail is more important—that disreputable political aims show through behind the vague general statements. We are now in the house of the "chairman" in Septemvri, and our first questions were connected with this very matter. "I will make a funeral oration over the grave of communism!" Minev declared with some self-satisfaction, when we asked him to explain more precisely the aims that the company of "founders" have set themselves. He was no less complacent when he informed us that the French journalist Alain Chavalerie had recently visited his house and interviewed him for 3 hours. Chavalerie himself also boasted about this meeting in an interview for the BBC.

We had an opportunity to talk to the elderly "chairman," who is small in stature, for almost 2 hours. We also met with some of Minev's contemporaries from the town of Septemvri, who know about the world's first anti-Fascist rising in 1923, and about the blood shed by the partisans, political prisoners, and yataks [partisan supporters] in 1944, not from a history textbook, but through their own personal experience. Every Bulgarian who is more or less acquainted with his own country's history knows about the revolutionary traditions in this region. Despite his garrulousness, the "chairman" omitted telling us certain things about himself. Indeed, he should not have done this! A "defender of human rights" and a "campaigner" for the truth should not hide his own past. This is what sort of person the people from the self-styled "chairman's" home area know him to be.

Stoyanka Khaydushka, 65 years old, tells us: "I have known him since he was a child. You have already realized how he likes to talk. Before 9 September 1944, he was one of the leading helpers of Hitler's fascists. With his help, they drew up lists of people who had to be liquidated. Many people were afraid of him, especially the Jews. Many of them came to grief, such as Dezi, Moris, and Rebeka. The gang of Legionnaires that he led had a plan to annihilate the political prisoners freed on 8 September 1944. Our house was also supposed to be blown up, as my father Todor Khaydushki was a well-known anti-fascist."

Kiril Yankov, 77 years old, remembers this: "We called him 'Lichka Chuchulizina.' He was an ambitious fanatic.

He regularly used to treat the ragged riffraff from the upper quarter of the town with watered-down wine and incited them against those who did not want to dance to his tune."

Kiril Gugutkov, 74 years old, also has something to tell us: "Minev's father was the richest man in our region. He owned over 500 decares of vineyards, produced a lot of wine, and leased refreshment bars as far as the border, in order to dispose of his stock. He sent his son Iliya to university in France, and Iliya later became a leader in the Legion. His pistol always hung at his thigh, and his men beat up people with pieces of hose with pieces of iron stuck in the end. A single blow with such a weapon was enough to knock you to the ground."

Nikola Sestrimski, 70 years old, and Krustyo Krustev, 64 years old, also showed no surprise at the new ambitions of "Lichka Chuchulizina." They are outraged by his effrontery and crazy ideas.

Of course, the tales of the eyewitnesses are supplemented by documents which also impartially expose the slandered "defender of human rights" so much loved by Radio Free Europe. From 1941 to 1944 the self-appointed "chairman" was a member of the main leadership of the Union of Bulgarian National Legions and chief of its foreign political department, and was the leader of the Legion in Pazardzhik. I will mention another detail for those who are younger. Article 1 of the statute of the above-mentioned "union" states: The Legions are an independent national movement based on fascist principles, with its headquarters in Sofia." Article 9 of the Legions' program also proclaims a campaign against everything Jewish.

Following the victory of the 9 September Revolution, the Legionnaire disappears from the sight of his fellow-countrymen, who learn about his capture from an item in OTECHESTVEN FRONT on 5 June 1946, which reports the uncovering of a big smuggling ring dealing in rose oil. [a photocopy of a newspaper cutting of this report is published with this article] Dozens of Minev's fellow citizens sent information to the public prosecutor of Sofia Provincial Court to the effect that in 1940-42, the loyal aide of Hitler's Fascists had organized pogroms for Jews and progressive people. One of these reports is signed by 800 inhabitants of the town of Septemvri, and carries the seal and signature of Luka Deliyski, the chairman of the Syndicalist Council of the General Workers Trade Union in the town.

The subsequent investigation established a further fact—that at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946 the Legionnaire was one of the organizers and leaders of an illegal organization for overthrowing the people's government in Bulgaria. The Sofia Provincial Court, which sat from 2 to 10 December 1946, sentenced Minev to life imprisonment. The grounds for the verdict are stated in Resolution No 491: "He participated in the formation of an executive committee of an organization for reestablishing the former national legions, with the aim of overthrowing the established government through coups and terrorist actions."

While we were talking with the "fighter for human rights" in his home and he was attempting to demonstrate how well-read he was, we reminded him of these facts as well. It seems that he continues even now to act the part of a leader, because he peremptorily ordered us: "Write it down, write it down!" in order to ensure that we did not miss a word of what he said.

Otherwise, the "chairman" serves as a very convenient screen for those who conceal, behind his crazy ambitions for a revanche, their own personal plans for settling in the West. Thus, we come to the issue, so persistently pleaded, of the "expelled" people. Some Western colleagues clearly believe that they can set up their own propaganda campaigns without showing the necessary respect for the facts. What are the facts?

Not a single one of the "defenders of human rights" listed at the beginning of this report was compelled to leave his native land, and proof of this is available. It is well known that in order to obtain a passport for foreign travel, one submits an personally signed application and declaration to the Foreign Passports Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Such applications were submitted by Eduard Genov and his wife. The others also submitted applications, signed personally. Ekaterina Markova and Khristo Svatovski received their passports as early as mid-October 1988, and departed a whole month later in the same year.

Furthermore, the "expelled" Ekaterina Markova, after spending a week in Austria, returned to Bulgaria, together with her two children. We visited her at home and talked to her. Like the "chairman," she hastened with her very first words to don the halo of a "fighter for human rights," as well as a halo of a certain mystery, indecipherable for the uninitiated. Who knows, maybe such mannerisms are acquired after many regular visits to Dr Long's Protestant Church in Sofia and after the appropriate quiet chats with diplomats who are no less fervent believers!

It was not difficult to find out from the Bulgarian Embassy in Vienna that Markova expressed a desire to return after the above-mentioned Eduard Genov had forcibly taken away her passport, after a fight. She has allegedly refused to sign a declaration with whose contents she was not familiar. The row between the two "human rights fighters" was not without consequences for Markova's two children, who were also maltreated by Genov. Perhaps Markova hoped that she would be carried shoulder high, and rivers of honey and oil would start flowing specially for her! The Bulgarian Embassy showed understanding, and offered help to her, including financial aid, to enable her to return to her native land. It is inexplicable why those who are spreading the fabrications about the "expulsions" did not also interview Ekaterina Markova, who was living in the same place as Eduard Genov.

Why does Radio Free Europe prefer to talk about "expulsions" instead of saying a couple of words about the moral, human image of the slandered "defenders"? It is certainly because the lie is preferred to the truth. We had to search through the court archives of a more recent period in order to fill this gap in the information as well.

In 1968 Eduard Genov, then a student, set up an illegal terrorist group of young men. In their court evidence, the witnesses summoned asserted that the aim of the group was to make preparations to cause railroad disasters. Eduard himself, in an attempt to justify himself, stated: "When I use alcohol, I say and do whatever comes into my head." An extremely telling revelation about a "defender of human rights"! Naturally, he ended up in prison, where he organized a group to make an attack on the wardens in order to escape. Quite recently, when again drunk, he beat up his own friend, who did not share his views on humanity and legality. So you see, the "humanist" Eduard Genov has his own ideas as well about the tolerance for which he pleads so strongly. The district court sentenced him to 15 years of corrective labor.

The talkative "chairman" from Septemvri swore to us during our interview that no criminal elements had been meeting in his house. As a religious person, he crossed himself, perhaps in order to be more convincing, but facts are stubborn things. "Lichka Chuchulizina" himself made use of his knowledge of chemistry, obtained during his studies in France, and from 1968 to 1975 organized the illegal production of plastic articles. On 15 September 1975 the Razgrad District Court sentenced him and his wife to 1 year's imprisonment.

Other facts are also available from the court archives and elsewhere, but these are sufficient for the moment. The negative social attitudes of the self-styled "defenders of human rights" who have fallen victim to the force of the law might be explicable to a certain extent, but they cannot be justified. What civilized society fails to punish violations of the laws?! In our case, however, the explanation is that not only can one not pass over the record of court convictions of the "fighters," but one cannot pass over their political convictions either, which are at variance with democratic principles of any kind. One asks whether the terrorist Eduard Genov and the sworn enemy of the Jews, Iliya Minev, are really innocent supporters of justice and democracy, given that they have attempted to undermine socialism by force, and with weapons. What impudence and hypocrisy!

Soviet Commentary on CSSR Events Summarized

AU2202134989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 89 p 6

[Unattributed summary of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA "Observer's Opinion" article "Reflections in a Smooth Lake" by NOVOSTI political observer Ye. Ryabtsev: "NOVOSTI Commentator on Czechoslovakia" in the "They Said, They Wrote Column"]

[Text] Prague-Moscow—How do our friends in the socialist countries see the processes of restructuring in the USSR? What do Czechs and Slovaks think of us and themselves? My recent brief stay in this country does not give me the right to claim to have conducted a sufficiently in-depth analysis of the sights and sounds that I experienced, especially in light of January's events on Wenceslas Square in Prague.

But from my conversations and meetings, I sensed in tangible terms a mood for reappraising much of what has happened here since 1945. Just as in our country, strenuous mental activity is also under way in the CSSR as they analyze their historical path.

The notions concerning the fraternal countries that took shape in most of us during the years of stagnation as a result of glossy official propaganda did not always reflect a true picture of life, neither that of us nor of our friends. But I was told that the Soviet Union's prestige among the people here was exceptionally high prior to 1968.

As we know, the entry of five socialist countries' troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968 provoked a complex reaction. Some people regarded this as important support in the struggle to preserve the foundations of socialism, while others were shocked by this action. This state of shock later gave way to a sense of profound disappointment and outraged national dignity, and it even promoted the emergence of anti-Soviet sentiments among some people. What happened, happened; you can't rewrite history.

A certain depoliticization occurred within society. The author then mentions various foreign influences to which Czechoslovak society is exposed. Hundreds of thousands of CSSR inhabitants are linked by close ties with their compatriots who have settled in other countries in the course of several waves of emigration. Also, every year almost 20 million foreign tourists stay in the CSSR, many of them from Austria and the FRG. The Czechoslovak population listens, reads, and asks questions and compares living standards, rights, and social opportunities in the West and East. If public life in the CSSR over the last few years has resembled a smooth lake, this picture has not reflected what was happening in its depths.

Our restructuring has aroused exceptional and genuine interest in the USSR. People listen to our radio stations, watch our television, read newspapers and journals, and sometimes reprint and circulate the most interesting material concerning restructuring.

However, some party members and people who well remember the events of 1945 and 1948 fail to understand the Soviet wave of criticism concerning the USSR's own history and the activity of the party and its former leaders.

This is quite understandable if you take into consideration the fact that there is no uniform opinion on this in our country. That is why it isn't surprising that many people in the CSSR still associate Stalin's personality with the Red Army's mission of liberation and the USSR's assistance. You can't overnight erase images that have become firmly established over many years.

CPCZ workers assess their activity self-critically. They admit that they have not taken sufficient account of the work of oppositionists and that they have not worked to gain an in-depth understanding of the essence of problems that have cropped up. The events of mid-January in Wenceslas Square have undoubtedly introduced some corrective adjustments into this practice. The author also recalls the recent terrorist act, the explosion of a bomb in the building of the regional and city national committees in Usti nad Labem, which confirms that forces who find the existing system uncongenial are operating in the country.

The party is entering into a dialogue with creative forces and, like us, is trying to critically analyze the experience of the past.

My new Czech friends stated with conviction that the development of democracy and glasnost and the political and economic reforms will undoubtedly speed up the development of socialism not only in our country but also in the CSSR.

Youth Club Discusses Article

AU2802131989

[Editorial Report] Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 24 February on page 3 carries a 2,500-word article by Vera Duskova, Zbynek Fiala, and Libor Sevcik entitled "It Was an Overheated Cauldron." The article gives an account of the first "discussion club of Prague youth," which was held in Prague on 21 February. The first "discussion club"—an event that is to be organized biweekly by the Prague City Committee of the Socialist Youth Union "in order to establish a dialogue and get to know young people's views and problems"—is also the subject of a 2,000-word article by Eva Louckova, entitled "Like an Overheated Cauldron," carried in Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 24 February on page 3.

The MLADA FRONTA report notes that, although the first discussion club had a set topic—the problems of young people's start in life—it was still a "bit of a sensation, and emotions at times suppressed rational thinking." The discussion therefore "swung from topic to topic" and "fluctuated between the current worries of young people and other voices," such as "calls for the 'blank spots' in the history of the repressive and unlawful acts of the fifties to be filled." According to the RUDE PRAVO report, one student of history asked "why in the Soviet Union they speak publicly about the repressive acts of the thirties and seek out and rehabilitate their victims, while in our country we are still silent about the analogous period of the fifties. Historical science keeps silent on these acts, and the archives have not been opened." Other speakers in the discussion, according to the MLADA FRONTA account, also raised issues such as "alternative military service" for conscientious objectors, the need for anyone to join the Socialist Youth Union who wants to study at university, or "how a nonparty member can recognize the party's leading role."

The discussion reportedly also touched upon the issue of "information from the Soviet Union." According to the MLADA FRONTA report, worker M. Hajek complained that "the article on Czechoslovakia published by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA on 18 February has not reached our readers in its original form." As the MLADA FRONTA report goes on to say, Hajek received the following reply from V. Filipov, councillor at the USSR Embassy in Prague and one of the panelists: "The author of the aforementioned article has been criticized at the CPSU Central Committee. He tried to evaluate the situation in your country after a stay of less than 1 week and, moreover, he did so in a way that smacked of interference in your affairs." The RUDE PRAVO passage on this part of the discussion reads: "We are not being familiarized with what the Soviet press writes on events in Czechoslovakia, said one young worker. He noted that one Soviet daily carried an article on Czechoslovakia, but that he did not obtain a copy of the relevant paper. It turned out that he had erred in the name of the daily and in other matters, but he still did receive a reply from the councillor at the USSR Embassy: 'That article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was not right. It could be regarded as interference in Czechoslovak affairs. The journalist could not get to know the situation during a week's stay, and his opinions are in no case identical with the stand of the central bodies.'"

Reporting on those parts of the discussion that addressed the designated topic, the RUDE PRAVO account quotes a sociologist's statement that "young people in Czechoslovakia have a belated start in life" because it takes years for them to acquire an apartment and to furnish it, because they "get to do real work corresponding to their abilities after roughly 5 years, when their knowledge acquired in school becomes obsolete," and because "the involvement of young people in management is today at its lowest point since 1945, while in addition only one-third of their qualifications are put to use." The MLADA FRONTA account cites specific grievances that were aired during the discussion by members of the young generation. Literary critic Ivo Slavik, for example, is said to have campaigned for a "periodical for young culture" because "culture is now monopolized by various cliques that make films, publish books, control television, and award each other prizes, which leads to stagnation." Jiri Kvasnicka, a musician, is said to have criticized the situation of young artists: "If a graduate of the conservatory manages to pass the network of qualification tests, he is mostly assigned to the lowest wage scale, which—according to the tariff set in 1965 (!)—means Kcs140 per performance, of which he gives eight each month at most. Why should not listeners themselves evaluate his art? If he has something to tell them, they will come and be happy to pay for it. Or they will not come. Meanwhile, however, the agencies themselves determine what will be shown to the people and what they should like. The agencies play what is a rather repressive role."

Summing up the discussion, both papers praise the idea of setting up the discussion club and the frankness of the debate. The MLADA FRONTA report also appreciates the courage of the Socialist Youth Union, which launched the dialogue despite "potential risks" and "did not push out of door even those who uphold the views of various unofficial groups."

Reactions to Commentary Noted

AU0603130489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial article in the "In Response to Readers' Questions" column: "In the Margin of an Article in the Soviet Press"]

[Text] On Monday, 20 February, we published a report on an article by NOVOSTI political commentator Ye. Ryabtsev on his impressions of Czechoslovakia. "It seems to me that the aforesaid Soviet journalist's information about us was very superficial," writes reader Rudolf Dusanek from Prerov. The report triggered a similar reaction among many other readers, some of whom ask how they are supposed to understand some of the judgments that Ye. Ryabtsev expressed.

What can be added to the report, which contained some impressions from the Soviet journalist's short stay in our country? In his article published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, the author himself concedes that "my brief stay in Czechoslovakia does not give me the right to claim to have conducted a sufficiently deep analysis of what I saw and heard...." The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office published the article in the "Commentator's View" column, in which—as is customary in the Soviet press—it even publishes contradictory opinions on events in both the USSR and abroad.

Our report was also published in a similar rubric, in which, under the headline "They Said, They Wrote (From the Foreign Press)," we publish a broad range of views by foreign commentators and politicians on various events, including developments in Czechoslovakia. These reports do not express the opinion of RUDE PRAVO's editorial board, and the editorial board does not comment on them. They are intended to complement, as it were, our reader's view of the surrounding world, which is often full of contradictions.

In connection with the report "NOVOSTI Commentator on Czechoslovakia," some readers also asked whether some judgments expressed by the Soviet journalist can be regarded as an official stand. It arises from the very title of the column in which SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the article that this is not the case. Rather, it is the opinion of a publicist. Incidentally, as we reported on Friday [24 February] in the article "Like an Overheated Cauldron," the question of the stand of the aforementioned SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article was also raised by one participant in the discussion club of Prague youth. As we reported, he received a reply from a Soviet guest in attendance: "The article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was not right. It could be regarded as interference in Czechoslovak affairs. The journalist could not get to know the situation during a week's stay. Thus, his opinions are in no way identical to the stand of the central bodies."

'Considerable Confusion' Cited

LD2802194189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1758 GMT 28 Feb 89

["Disagreement in Prague With Soviet Journalist"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Prague, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—Reliable sources in Prague Tuesday [28 February] confirmed that considerable confusion in the Czechoslovak public had been caused by a recent, unusually frank article on Czechoslovakia published by the Soviet daily SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and that disagreement of certain citizens here with the article has acquired the character of the first open, although unofficial, polemics between the two countries.

The commentator of the Soviet news agency APN described the current situation in Czechoslovakia and named some of its earlier causes. He compared the country's public life in recent years to the quiet surface of a lake, which, however, "did not reflect what was happening in its depths."

The Soviet journalist also indicated the consequences of the military intervention carried out by five Warsaw Pact countries to quell the Prague Spring in 1968 and recalled that the Czechoslovaks were the only ones to regard this as support to the struggle for the preservation of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

In other countries the intervention caused "deep disappointment, a feeling of offended national dignity" and even anti-Soviet feelings.

He also mentioned that the Czechoslovaks refrained from strongly criticizing Stalin and his policy.

Czechoslovak Communist Party organ RUDE PRAVO carried the article a week ago, politically shocking a number of readers. The paper received letters asking whether "the certain opinions of the Soviet journalist should be considered as official [word indistinct]."

RUDE PRAVO responded today that the Soviet publicist had stated his own personal views.

According to the APN commentator, the Soviet perestroyka was received in Czechoslovakia with much interest, but he openly added that there "is no understanding" in a part of the party membership for the present way of criticism in the Soviet Union which has extended to the Soviet history and the actions of the Soviet Communist Party and its former leaders.

There are forces in Czechoslovakia who "are dissatisfied with the current social structure," the Soviet journalist concluded. He, however, cited his Czechoslovak friends who believe that democratization and reforms would speed up the development of socialism both in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia.

Upcoming Conventional Arms Talks Previewed

LD0503225889 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 5 Mar 89

[By Jaroslav Prusek]

[Text] Brussels March 5 (CTK)—Talks on conventional disarmament in Europe opening in Vienna tomorrow will require a lot of good will of both sides.

The basic intention of both sides, the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states, is identical as expressed in the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)—to strengthen stability and security from the Atlantic to the Urals. The roads to attain this goal differ in many aspects and considerable effort will be needed to bring them closer and adopt concrete measures.

NATO is coming to Vienna with a program indicated in a statement on arms control in the conventional sphere from the December session of the NATO Council in Brussels. Its main aim is reduction of the number of weapons in which the Warsaw Treaty has, according to NATO, superiority over NATO, i.e. tanks, guns and armoured vehicles. On the other hand, NATO refuses to include in the first stage of the Vienna talks aircraft and navy in which it has considerable superiority over the

Warsaw Treaty, claiming that these types of weapons are so mobile that it will be very difficult to set effective regulations for the verification of their numbers.

As for the parallel forum of the 35 participants in the talks on measures to strengthen confidence and security in Europe, the NATO member states approach it with a joint and at first sight a very realistic program. Firstly they want to seek an agreement on greater openness in the exchange of information on armed forces and armament, their deployment and plans for introduction of new arms systems.

Secondly they want to deepen the conclusion of the Stockholm conference and demand notification of smaller military exercises before their start, invitation of observers and creation of better conditions for them.

The third set of proposals concerns better mutual contacts. NATO wants to seek organization of joint seminars on military conceptions of the two sides, creation of identical conditions for the work of journalists, etc.

These stands are essentially identical with the views of the socialist countries on steps to be taken in the strengthening of confidence and security in Europe. NATO official representatives proclaim their readiness to deepen mutual understanding and strengthen security on the European Continent. However, these words must be supported by a realistic approach to the talks on reducing the armed forces and armament with the aim to ensure step by step complete disarmament.

Johanes Departs for Vienna

*LD0503180789 Prague CTK in English
1612 GMT 5 Mar 89*

[Text] Prague March 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes left here for Vienna today.

In the Austrian capital he will attend the opening of talks of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on conventional armed forces in Europe and talks of 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on measures to strengthen confidence and security on the continent.

The opening of the talks will take place at the level of foreign ministers of the Helsinki Final Act signatories.

Adamec Receives Hungary's Medgyessy 3 Mar

*LD0303155589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 3 Mar 89*

[Text] Premier Ladislav Adamec today at the Hrzan Palace in Prague received Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers and Hungarian chairman of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. He informed him about current political and economic conditions in Czechoslovakia, about the progress in restructuring the management of the national economy, and about possibilities for a considerable widening of cooperation between both countries, in which Czechoslovakia has great interest.

The Hungarian guest described the polarization of political forces now taking place in Hungary and agreed with the view that there is much unused potential for economic cooperation between our countries. Both representatives exchanged views on CEMA's activity, which so far does not correspond in many areas to the needs of the member countries. Ladislav Adamec appreciated the positive approach by Hungary and its premier to the initiative for calling a meeting in Prague on environmental issues in central Europe.

Economic Talks Conclude

*LD0303235789 Prague CTK in English
1841 GMT 3 Mar 89*

[Text] Prague March 3 (CTK)—The 23rd session of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation ended here today.

The Czechoslovak delegation was led by First Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments Pavel Hrivnak, the Hungarian delegation was headed by Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy. A document was signed at the end of the session.

The two delegations paid main attention to actions in implementing concrete tasks following from the recent meeting of the two countries' highest representatives Milos Jakes and Karoly Grosz.

The particpants appreciated the achieved level of mutual exchange of goods and coordinated actions of the two states in the construction of the water system Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, and took measures on further development of cooperation in agriculture and the food industry and on coordination of bilateral economic and scientific-technological cooperation for the years 1991-1995.

Listeners Comment on Vaclav Havel Case

*LD0303193689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 3 Mar 89*

[Text] Many letters and phone calls coming in to Czechoslovak radio these days have a common subject: Vaclav Havel. Zdenek Tomas reflects on these responses.

[Tomas] This is a very useful survey of public opinion; it shows that current social changes and their significance are not to the liking of some people in our country, and that they cannot be convinced by any argument. Usually, they also forget to sign their names.

An overwhelming majority of our public, as is also attested to by an article in today's RUDE PRAVO, nevertheless grasped who Vaclav Havel is. For young people, according to their letters, his name—which was unknown until recently—has acquired the clear image of a sworn and, in the spirit of the wording of our laws, also convicted subversive who has never joined us in our common efforts since February 1948.

How have we hurt them? Our socialist society took away from them a servant, a gardener, a chauffeur, and made it impossible for him [Havel] to live on unearned income. That is why he did not miss a single opportunity for support by the Western media, including financial support, and as a leader of the so-called Charter 77 to defame and calumniate as well as to insult the results of work by all honest people.

Agricultural workers laugh at his proposal for a return to private farming, for our youth do not believe that their fathers devoted years of their youth to voluntary work and hardship on youth projects for simply no reason at all. A lot of fine things were done at which we can look back with a good conscience.

So there are still shortcomings in many places? We know about them, and gradually we are beginning to deal with them. But Havel and those like him will not help us! We need peace and order, not obdurate slogans. In spite of all of Vaclav Havel's efforts carried out under the veil of democracy, to provoke emotions among part of our cultural front and other fellow citizens, he now has an ever-decreasing number of supporters on his side. This is a fact which was voiced decisively and unambiguously through your letters.

Charter 77 Proposes Havel for Nobel Peace Prize

AU0403151989 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Czechoslovakia—The human rights organization Charter 77 has proposed that imprisoned author Vaclav Havel should receive the Nobel Peace Prize. In February Havel was sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment for so-called hooliganism. He had sought to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Jan Palach's self-immolation on Prague's Wenceslas Square.

Validity of 'Lessons' Document Reaffirmed

AU0303173389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Mar 89 p 2

[Jiri Kohout article in the "In Reply to a Reader's Question" column: "To Forget the Lessons?"]

[Text] [Question] One Czechoslovak ex-politician claimed on a foreign radio station that the condition for a dialogue in Czechoslovakia is that the CPCZ renounces the document entitled "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." Are these "lessons" an obstacle to a dialogue?

[Kohout] There are undoubtedly people for whom the document "Lessons From the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" is a thorn in their side. The document contains enough names of people who collapsed under the weight of their political responsibility and allowed developments in Czechoslovakia following January 1968 to create conditions for anticommunist attempts to destroy socialism and for attacks on the entire socialist community, instead of pursuing a consistent rectification of the mistakes of the preceding period and the development of socialism. The analysis of these events as contained in the "lessons" is all the more in the way of those who pursued the line of quite intentionally destroying socialism.

These people obviously need the "lessons" to be forgotten. History is such, however, that it does not make anything like that possible. The "lessons" contain an analysis that resulted from the effort to give an objective answer to questions about the causes, course, and effects of the crisis in the life of our party and society in the 2d half of the sixties. It is not only a political document, but also a piece of historical evidence. It gives an account of how the party's authority and capability to take action became eroded as a result of mistakes in political and ideological work, what part in the internal crisis in the party was played by the enforcement of subjective views, and how significant was the inconsistent break with the practice of the personality cult.

The "lessons" also teach us about the external, foreign political influences on developments in our country in the 2d half of the sixties. The "lessons" provide an analysis of the long-term influence of anticommunist centers, which, as a matter of fact, continue to operate in an even reinforced form. Among the important aspects of the "Lessons" is also the exposure of contradictions between the declared slogans about the "revival of socialism" and the actual political intentions of those who considered the destruction of socialism to be their program.

All these are precisely reasons for us to not forget the meaning of the "lessons" today, in the period of democratization and restructuring. They also provide many answers to questions being asked today.

Hungarian Group Accused of Contacting 'Fascist'

AU0103140389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Feb 89 p 7

["(VIL)"-signed report: "Advice From a Fascist"]

[Text] Budapest (from our permanent editor)—Recently representatives of the youth opposition group FIDESZ introduced themselves to Hungarian emigres in Vienna. They were welcomed by Tibor Tollas, chief editor of the emigre right-wing-extremist newspaper NEMZETOR (published in Munich), who during the war was a gendarmerie first lieutenant in Beregovo, where he was in charge of deportations for gendarmerie battalion No 117. After the war he was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment in Hungary, then in 1956 he emigrated to the West. At the meeting in Vienna, FIDESZ representatives received advice from old emigres—among other things, that it would be desirable if the organization, which consists mainly of students, could spread its influence among the workers. On 25 February the MTI press agency issued a report that on Saturday [25 February] FIDESZ held a so-called workers' discussion in the Jurta Theater in Budapest. Here they announced that they are beginning to organize some type of independent workers trade union organization under the name of Workers Solidarity. At the same time, in the city of Dunaujvaros, the Hungarian Democratic Forum held a meeting at which it set up some kind of "temporary workers council" and marked out the task of organizing area workers groups at their places of residence.

Hungarian Visitors Welcome, 'Agitators' Not

AU0103130989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
25 Feb 89 p 5

[Gejza Vilcek dispatch: "Hatred Across the Border; FIDESZ Group Issues Arrogant Statement"]

[Text] Budapest (by our permanent staffer)—In its editorial note, the MSZMP daily NEPSZABADSAG sharply condemns the "protest" voiced by FIDESZ (Union of Young Democrats) and three other groups against the communique adopted on Karoly Grosz's talks with Milos Jakes. The "protest" contains a number of unconscionable statements about Czechoslovakia and "accuses" the MSZMP of approving of the "Stalinist dictatorship" and the "political development since 1968" in our country.

NEPSZABADSAG appraises this pronouncement as an effort to isolate the Hungarian People's Republic and to develop a policy of catastrophe. In characterizing FIDESZ, the daily quotes the group's own "representative" in NEMZETOR, an extreme right-wing Hungarian emigre tabloid published in Munich, according to which FIDESZ is a narrow, extremist, and radical society.

The extremist, arrogant, and aggressive views of the approximately 500 members of this society frequently attract the public's attention because of their very aggressiveness. Insofar as its activities concern the internal affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, we have nothing to say. On the other hand, insofar as its statements contain slanders against Czechoslovakia, and they meddle in our nationality policy and our cooperation with the Hungarian People's Republic, especially in connection with the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project, it thus must be said that the society's political shortsightedness and hatred transcend the Hungarian border. The society's "protest" indicates that some so-called agitators, peculiarly termed "a group belonging to the foreign working commission for explaining realities," had also paid a visit to our own territory. We both expect and welcome at all times the cooperation and understanding of our neighbors and allies, as well as their tourists and the relatives and acquaintances of our citizens—but definitely not extremist agitators.

Reshuffle in Writers Association Noted

AU0203132789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
1 Mar 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Miroslav Valek Is Chairman of the Czechoslovak Writers Association"]

[Text] Prague—The Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Writers Association (SCSS) held a meeting at the writers' club in Prague yesterday [28 February]. Jan Solovic, chairman of the Slovak Writers Association, opened the meeting with a brief speech. Current SCSS Chairman Jan Kozak then spoke to acquaint the writers present with his decision to resign from his post for reasons of health. Jan Solovic thanked him for his selfless work on behalf of the writers association, and Ladislav Ballek thanked him on behalf of the SCSS Central Committee. The SCSS Central Committee then discussed requests by Ivan Skala and Bohumil Nohejl to be released from the leadership of the association for reasons of health, and of Pavel Koys in connection with his being entrusted different tasks. National Artist Miroslav Valek was unanimously elected the new chairman of the SCSS, and Meritorious Artist Michal Cernik and National Artist Vladimir Minac deputy chairmen. Meritorious Artist Josef Peterka, Josef Simon, and the current candidate members of the SCSS Central Committee, Vladimir Brandejs and Kamil Marik, were elected members of the Presidium.

Honecker Addresses State Council Session

LD0303191689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0923 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Citizens' concerns in the GDR are being checked and decided upon in a better and more conscientious manner by those who bear responsibility in state and society in accordance with the policy directed at people's well being. This assessment was made by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, at a State Council session in Berlin on Friday. This is necessary above all in order to utilize the constant readiness to work together democratically and to take advantage of the many initiatives from the workers in an ever more effective way to bring about further improvements in everyone's daily life.

The GDR State Council entrusted the country's electoral commission to make the regulations for the local elections on 7 May resultant from the addendum to the GDR electoral law adopted today by the People's Chamber. The body went on to deal with the reports by Heinz Eichler, secretary of the Council of State; Dr Guenter Sarge, president of the Supreme Court; and Guenter Wendland, attorney general of the GDR; concerning the processing of petitions in 1988.

Then information was given on clemency pleas reaching the State Council in 1988, and their treatment. The State Council also decided on changes to the regulations for the work of conflict and arbitration commissions. The effectiveness of social courts will thus be enhanced.

The State Council decided that the GDR should accede to the 1977 "Budapest Treaty on the International Recognition of the Deposit of Microorganisms for Patent Procedure Purposes".

People's Chamber Deputies Hold Eighth Session

LD0303105589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0923 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met this morning at 1000 for its eighth session. Chaired by People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, SED Central Committee Politburo member, the deputies debated a draft law in accordance with a motion by all parliamentary groups to supplement the law on elections to the GDR's elected bodies. Above and beyond this, changes in mandates are up for debate in accordance with the agenda. The draft law which envisages giving foreigners residing in the GDR the active and passive right to vote was introduced by Deputy Egon Krenz, chairman of the republic's electoral commission, deputy chairman of the Council of State, SED Politburo member, and secretary of the SED Central Committee. Just as the formation and flourishing of the GDR was signifantly helped by international solidarity, thus solidarity with other nations and respect for foreign citizens are among the humanist traditions and values of the soclailist social order, the speaker stressed.

On behalf of the Constitution and Law Committee, Deputy Professor Dr Manfred Muehlmann, first deputy chairman of the committee, recommended the adoption of the bill.

The People's Chamber deputies then unanimously passed the law on changing the electoral law.

The second point on the agenda was a letter from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, with a request to relieve Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger from the Council of Ministers and electing Prof Dr Klaus Tielmann as member of the Council of Ministers. The deputies approved this. People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann congratulated Prof Tielmann on his election as a member of the Council of Ministers and wished him much success in his work.

The last point on the agenda was the unanimous passing of a resolution on follow-up candidates and changes in the People's Chamber committees. The SED parliamentary group proposed that the follow-up candidates Beatrix Dreschel and Ursula Bahr take up the People's Chamber mandates of the deceased deputies Werner Felfe and Hans-Joachim Hertwig. The CDU parliamentary group proposed that the mandate of deceased Deputy Prof Dr Dietrich Voigtberger, whose memory was honored by the People's Chamber deputies before going on to the agenda, should be passed on to the follow-up candidate Renate Eichhorn.

The CDU parliamentary group also proposed electing Deputy Dr Harold Naumann as a member of the Trade and Supply Committee.

Secretary of State Baker's NATO Tour Viewed

AU1702165189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Feb 89 p 2

[Editorial by "W.M.": "My Shirt is Close, But My Skin is Closer"]

[Text] The new U.S. secretary of state, James Baker, established contacts with the U.S. allies by touring the capitals of the West European NATO countries. Shortly after Baker had left Washington, the White House spokesman said that the administration will not have defined its foreign and security policy position before May. So, even though it has not been decided what priorities the new U.S. Administration will set, and even though Baker himself, concerning the purpose of his trip, said that he intends to ask the allies' advice and opinion, he obviously adopted a different position during the talks.

At any rate, according to reports from Oslo and Copenhagen, where the visitor paid lightning visits, Baker emphatically stressed the necessity of "modernization" of the short-range missiles deployed in West Europe. However, the governments of these countries, in agreement with their citizens, reportedly said that they are opposed to this. The Danish Government reportedly recommended to the new U.S. Secretary of State not to play up this issue, which is a controversial one in the alliance.

However, Baker did just that on the next leg of his trip—in Bonn. Even though official statements said that there was agreement between both sides that NATO should submit an overall disarmament and arms control concept at its summit meeting this spring, this agreement cannot have been worth a lot. Shortly before the visitor from Washington arrived, an official statement said that the Federal Government would not make its basic decision on the "modernization" of the ground-based Lance missiles before 1991-92, because only then would a "real decision" be necessary. Of course, nobody can fail to see that the date mentioned is after the next Bundestag elections in which the citizens, two-thirds of which are opposed to nuclear missiles, will decide on a new federal government. According to DIE WELT, this position has really made the visitor from the United States "feel insecure." He made the experience that, even for best friends, one's shirt is close, but one's skin is closer.

Back in Washington, Baker hopefully will report in detail on the results of his exploratory talks, which hopefully will be properly reflected in the definition of the U.S. foreign and security policy position. The European peoples—in the East and in the West of the continent—do not want another arms race or a "modernization" of means of mass destruction. The overwhelming majority of them do not want to have nuclear weapons at all. The sense of achievement that Baker had in Turkey cannot delude anybody. The Turkish Government supported his urge for "modernization."

NATO's 'Wintex-Cimex'89' Maneuvers Criticized

AU0103144989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Feb 89 p 2

["r.e." article: "NATO Is Practicing the Total War"]

[Text] Just in time before the beginning of the Vienna disarmament talks, NATO is practicing total war. On Friday [24 February], the command post exercise, "Wintex-Cimex'89" began, which will last until 9 March and which tests the alliance's ability to carry out a nuclear first strike against the countries of socialism. This exercise, which is being held for the 10th time, and in the course of which 25 nuclear strikes will be simulated, has among its goals the testing of the civil authorities concerning its functioning both in the case of war and in the case of tension, and to derive the corresponding measures from it.

The peace movements in the NATO countries have called for actions against Wintex-Cimex. They describe the maneuver as anachronistic, especially in view of the current great opportunity to take important steps toward averting the danger of war involving the use of several types of weapons. Especially now, they say, a further militarization of the social life in the NATO states is particularly absurd.

This is a view that is gaining more and more support. Greece and France do not participate in this NATO maneuver. Even in the FRG all Laender do not fully participate in it any more. In addition to Saarland and Bremen, SPD-governed Schleswig-Holstein has now also declared that it "will not pursue any goals in the exercise, but will only react to requests by other authorities." As has been learned from Bremen "those in charge of supplying information" are only sometimes available during office hours.

Questions are likely to be raised from that bunker in the Ahr Valley, which has been described as nuclear-blast-proof and to which Bonn's political leadership retreats as the so-called practice cabinet, sometimes also referred to as war cabinet in order to rehearse the scenario of a nuclear war—allegedly in the interest of the population—even including the safeguarding of the transport of the dead; in order to practice the emergency laws, which are a relic from the era of the cold war; and in order to prove the "necessity" for bringing the nuclear weapons that are deployed in the FRG up to date, in other words, to "modernize" them.

What is this militant attitude all about? The real danger, as has been proved by Wintex-Cimex, emanates from NATO itself; from its efforts to newly stimulate the arms race; from new arms projects such as the KOLAS missiles, the Fighter 90, and the "modernization" of the "Lance" missiles. The actions against Wintex-Cimex by many citizens in some 120 cities and communities show that more and more people have become aware of this.

NATO Command Exercise, FRG Unemployment Viewed

AU0203165289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 89 p 2

["He." article: "War Plans and Unemployment"]

[Text] In the framework of the command post exercise "Wintex-Cimex'89," NATO is at present exercising the alliance's ability to carry out a nuclear first strike at the countries of socialism. We pointed out the anachronistic nature of this annual saber rattling in the same column of this paper in yesterday's edition. In the meantime, a new aspect of militarization and war preparations in the FRG has become public. While Bonn's political leadership has established itself as "war cabinet" in its nuclear-blast-proof bunker in the Ahr Valley and is rehearsing the aggressive NATO scenario, FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reports that the FRG Government issued a decree on 25 January regulating "how in the case of war or crisis, workers, particularly unemployed people, have to be recruited by force." A spokesman of the FRG Labor Ministry said that this decree is an implementing regulation for the "Work Guarantee Law," which was adopted in 1968 as part of the so-called emergency laws.

One has to ask oneself whether those who initiated this new decree are still in their right mind. In 1989, a time in which disarmament steps have been initiated and in which all governments have been requested to further proceed along this road and make constructive contributions toward peace, precisely at such a time people are picking up "laws" of state terrorism and of the preparation of war that are a relic of the era of the Cold War. The military-bureaucratic machinery continues to work as if nothing had happened.

Moreover, the project is utterly perfidious. Would not a crisis, a period of tension, including the case of war, be quite useful so that one could get rid of the problem of millions of unemployed? The necessary "stages" have been provided for: Initially, the labor exchange finds the unemployed jobs in "enterprises crucial in the case of war," such as arms and supply industries, later there will simply be "enforced recruitment."

One cannot help recalling that once before a "gigantic job-creation program" was directly used for the preparation of a war of aggression that emanated from German soil. To abolish unemployment not on the road of social justice, but on the road of a military arms race, which would result in a critical development of the situation—is this what they want? Is the sad fate of the unemployed to become even sadder by turning them into slaves of the arms industry and ultimately into cannon fodder?

Article Examines Unemployment in Socialism

AU0103163189 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 27 Feb 89 p 3

[Reply by Karl-Heinz Arnold to the following question by reader Greta Winkler, 1157 East Berlin: "Some socialist countries either have unemployment or expect a considerable number of jobless people. Unemployment and socialism—do these go together?"]

[Text] No, they do not go together. Work is a basic value of socialism; it is even one of the fundamental human rights. We adhere to the principle that is expressed in the old workers' song: Work, bread, and peace among peoples—this is our world!

Have not generations of communists and generations of working people fought for the right to work? They were not able to achieve this under capitalist conditions.

Let us remember: After World War I, in the twenties and thirties, Germany suffered from extensive mass unemployment. The situation culminated in February 1932, with a total of 6.13 million registered unemployed people. The number of jobless had risen from 115,000 in the mid-twenties to over 560,000 in the early thirties. These conditions, as we know, promoted right-wing extremism, and was grist for the mills of the Nazi demagogues. By the way, today's unemployment figure for West Berlin (some 100,800 at the end of January 1988) is, by comparison, markedly higher than the figure for all of Berlin between 1924 and 1929 (an average of 145,000).

More than 1 million people were registered as unemployed in the FRG for the first time in 1975. In 1983 the figure was more than 2 million for the first time. At the end of January it amounted to 2.3 million, and, according to calculations of the DGB, another 1.5 million people have given up their search for a job.

Where Signing on Has Become a Permanent Phenomenon

Unemployment, which has gone hand in hand with capitalism from its very beginning, has become a permanent phenomenon in today's capitalist world, and by its extent and social consequences this system is characterized as inhuman: Many millions of people are deprived the human right to work.

This condition is inextricably linked with the capitalist profit-oriented economy. However, even the capitalists do not dare to glorify unemployment. On the contrary, whenever and wherever they manage to reduce the number of unemployed they praise the situation and call it ideal. How could it not be socialism's ideal to shun no efforts in order to guarantee jobs for all?

The GDR has subscribed to this principle from its very beginning. Even the first Constitution of 1949 stressed in Article 15: "The right to work is guaranteed." In order to provide for every contingency under the conditions at the time, Article 16 established that provisions had to be made for the economic consequences of unemployment.

This has become superfluous, because full employment was immediately implemented in the GDR, which was possible only on the socialist road. The political power of the working people and the advantages of the socialist planned economy have been used in a way that guarantees social security with no ifs, ands, or buts. Article 24 of our Constitution, which guarantees every citizen the right to work, will stand any test.

This should not change in the future, either. We can check it in the SED program. It outlines the challenges that have to be met for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. It shows us how the objectives of the workers' movement, as defined by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, can be implemented under the conditions in the GDR today.

The SED program stresses the necessity and the possibility, with high production results and a stable economic growth, to improve the living standard of all working people step by step and to guarantee social security for all people.

This unity of economic and social policy is a cornerstone of the state and government policy of the GDR, which is supported by all five parties and the democratic organizations.

Guarantees for the Most Important Necessities of Life

Other socialist countries also regard full employment as a basic value of socialism.

At the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in June 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev left no doubt that unemployment is unacceptable to the USSR as a matter of principle. "We regard socialism as a social order of social justice," he said, "which combines social guarantees for the most important necessities of life for man concerning work, the protection of health, education, housing, and social security; by consistently implementing the principle of distribution according to performance; and the abolition of any form of egalitarianism and social parasitism."

As we know, our neighbor Poland is currently in an extremely difficult economic and very complicated political situation. In view of this situation, Wojciech Jaruzelski declared (in January 1989 in an address to workers in Plock): If Poland develops new mechanisms for securing an effective economy, none of the values and advantages of socialism must be lost. Unlike in many capitalist countries, one will not accept that entire generations have to live in poverty and are affected by unemployment.

Not To Make a Virtue of Unsolved Problems

At the moment full employment is not or is no longer guaranteed in several socialist countries. There can be no doubt that it is more difficult to secure full employment on the road toward intensifying the economy than in a system of extensive economy, which is permanently creating new jobs. Each country has to assess and decide for itself the conclusions that it wants to draw to fund the economic and social solution of this problem.

There are economists in some of our fraternal countries who say that today socialism cannot do without unemployment and that at least "some" unemployment is needed in socialism. They also believe that unemployment has to be accepted as an "unavoidable result" of unsolved problems of the national economy, and that we even need it as a lever to increase the productivity of the working people. All this has nothing to do with our ideals of socialism, and whereever such ideas are spread they also meet opposition. One cannot simply make a virtue or even a theory of unsolved problems.

As far as we are concerned, we continue to maintain that socialism has to struggle for full employment. We will neither accept unemployment nor content ourselves with lower productivity with many people producing less, avoiding the threat of unemployment, but with a stagnating standard of living.

Policy for socialism, in other words policy for the well-being of the entire people, requires permanently increasing productivity without unemployment. We create the necessary conditions for it with a responsive system of management, planning, accountancy, and stimulation.

Election of Trade Union Leaderships Viewed

AU0203132389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Feb 89 p 2

[K.M. article: "Our Trade Unionists and the Representation of Interests"]

[Text] Our country's 9.6 million trade unionists are electing the leaderships of their basic organizations in elections that started yesterday, Monday [27 February]. There can be no doubt that the main concern of this democratic election, in which all FDGB members are taking part, is to carefully consider what trade unionists should be elected to these mainly honorary positions. The candidates should be working people who are professionally recognized, have authority, and energetically support the interests of their colleagues at work. The debate on political problems, where the members of the FDGB discuss their contribution to the further development of socialist society, plays a central role.

This is where the question comes in what representation of interests by the trade union means. It always involves two inseparable sides: the trade unionists' interest in a maximum output of the national economy, and at the same time the concern that these economic results translate into social improvements.

This is why the trade unionists will also discuss what is still to be done for the implementation of the decisions of the 11th FDGB Congress. Thus, they define their own contribution to the preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

There is a simple explanation for this close relationship between the tasks of the trade unions and those of society at large, which will become particularly apparent during the elections, which last until 22 April. We start out from the basic principle that has been tested during almost 40 years of GDR history: without strong, free, and integrated trade unions, there can be no strong socialism. The FDGB is a force with a responsibility for the state—the largest class organization has assumed a militant position that is completely new in history. Therefore, reality in our socialist country is proof of the increased strength and authority of the FDGB, which is related to the party of the worker's class in strong alliance.

The reason for this is that the course of unity between economic and social policy, which has been pursued under the leadership of the SED, exactly corresponds to the interests of the trade unionists. It must be ascribed to the interests of the FDGB members that they intervene in all issues, irrespective of where they work. They press for high economic output and make their contribution to this objective. They also protest whenever work and living conditions are neglected by a rationalization project, or whenever proposals of innovators are dealt with irresponsibly.

This makes the FDGB an active and constructive, as well as persistent and reliable partner for the shaping of socialism. This attitude will be confirmed at election rallies everywhere in the days to come.

Man Sentenced for Forcibly Entering FRG Mission

LD0203175489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1650 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR citizen who ran over and seriously injured a member of the mission guard while forcibly entering the courtyard of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR in his private car on 16 February 1989, was sentenced by the Berlin-Lichtenberg City Bezirk court on 2 March 1989 to a prison term of 5 years and 6 months.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 23 Feb-1 Mar

AU0303195989

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 24 February to 2 March reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members participated in a wreath-laying ceremony marking the 71st anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy in Berlin on 23 February: Hermann Axen, Guenther Kleiber, Army General Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, and Inge Lange. (24 Feb, pp 1-2)

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a reception given by Yuriy Dulenko, military, navy, and air force attache of the USSR Embassy in the GDR, in Berlin on 23 February: Hermann Axen, Army General Heinz Kessler, Guenther Kleiber, Army General Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, Horst Sindermann, Willi Stoph, and Inge Lange. (24 Feb, p 2)

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Tanzanian Ambassador Isaac Abraham Sepetu for his farewell visit in Berlin on 1 March. (2 Mar, p 2)

Hermann Axen, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee [CC], and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the GDR People's Chamber, received a Japanese youth delegation in Berlin on 23 February. (24 Feb, p 4)

Hermann Axen received a study delegation of the CPSU CC, headed by Vladimir Krikhunov, deputy chief of the party construction and cadre work department of the CPSU CC, in Berlin on 24 February. (25-26 Feb, p 3)

Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, attended the opening of the Entertainment Art Congress in Berlin on 1 March. (2 Mar, p 1)

Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, received a study delegation of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, headed by Imre Kurucz, chairman of the Disciplinary Commission, in Berlin on 24 February. (25-26 Feb, p 8)

Guenther Schabowski held talks with construction workers at a construction-site in Berlin-Hellersdorf on 27 February. (28 Feb, pp 1, 8)

Horst Sindermann, member of the SED CC Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, presented orders and awards to veterans of the workers movement, members of the National People's Army, meritorious women, and working people from enterprises and institutions in Berlin on 24 February. (25-26 Feb, pp 1, 3)

Horst Sindermann received a delegation of the youth committee of the Portuguese Parliament, headed by its chairman Carlos Coelho, in Berlin on 28 February. (1 Mar, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED CC Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended an election meeting of the miners of the "Karl Marx" brigade from the Sondershausen "Glueckauf" potassium works in Sondershausen on 27 February. (28 Feb, p 1)

Miklos Nemeth Concludes Moscow Working Visit

Details Meeting With Gorbachev

LD0403001489 Budapest MTI in English
2221 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—During his return flight from Moscow, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth gave a statement to journalists.

He said that in the course of his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader outlined the reform endeavours of his country stressing that tackling the tasks and eliminating tensions had proved to be a much more difficult task than they had earlier presumed. Mistakes tend to occur in the process, and sufficient patience and firmness are necessary to hold on to this road. But there is no other way.

"We also touched upon the similiarities in the life of the two countries, and that, apart from the agreement on fundamental questions, actual measures and the space of changes was surrounded by controversy. Mikhail Gorbachev issued a warning that to demand perfect harmony between the reform of the system of political institutions and that of the economy would be illusionary. He added immediately, however, that the reform of political institutions cannot permanently overtake that of the economy, for this would be the source of various dangers, such as hard line politics and solutions that may cause harm not only to the society of our age but to the future one, as well. Therefore, it seems to be crucial to guarantee the accord between these two processes with sufficient patience, yet with firm determination. I think that this evaluation by the Soviet leader has been a very important contribution to the analysis of our situation.

"'Calm' and 'moderate', that was how Mikhail Gorbachev described the evaluation of the 1956 events by the February 10-11 session of the HSWP Central Committee. He praised the outcome of the session, which cannot be considered final, since further domestic and international research is required to bring about a dialogue and a consensus on the interpretation of Hungarian history."

The general secretary greeted the idea of pluralism, since he considers the representation, institutionalization and confrontation of opinions and interests in all their aspects to be at the core of democracy. He added that the future would decide whether a one-party system or the multi-party system chosen by Hungary was the better way for the realization of pluralism. Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that he did not consider this a matter of principle: The Soviet Union seeks pluralism within a one-party system, yet he would not reprimand the Hungarian leadership for its decision to introduce a multi-party system.

He stressed that a multi-party system should not be seen as a panacea. The point would be to bring about democracy, get the people involved and have a consciousness of ownership.

Talking about the CMEA, Mr Gorbachev said it should undergo a drastic transformation. At present, there are many contradictions and obstacles in the mechanism of this cooperation. As far as major trends are concerned, the solution would be to improve cooperation between companies. He added that a lot of CMEA countries think otherwise, yet it is not perfect agreement that is the most important thing at all costs. Instead of waiting for a complete consensus, the CMEA countries should seek agreement in bilateral or tripartite relations.

Miklos Nemeth concluded his summary by announcing that arrangements had been made for repeating his official friendly visit to the Soviet Union in a few months' time. "We had very candid talks, one thought was followed by another spontaneously, raising another opinion. The atmosphere reflected the spirit suggested by one of Mr Gorbachev's statements in Kiev: 'Complete sovereignty, independence, and non-interference with one another's domestic affairs should be the guiding principles in the relations between two socialist countries'. This view opens new vistas for Hungary, and it would be stupid not to seize the opportunity," Mr Nemeth concluded.

Greeted at Airport Upon Return

LD0303172289 Budapest MTI in English
1550 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, returned to Budapest on Friday [3 March] afternoon, after a day-long working visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Council of Ministers.

Mr Nemeth was accompanied by Istvan Oszi, deputy minister of foreign affairs, Deputy Minister Peter Szonyi, head of the government's office for international economic cooperation, and Sandor Rajani, Hungarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, who joined the delegation in Moscow.

Mr Nemeth was welcomed at Ferihegy Airport by Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, and Elemer Kiss, vice-president of the Office of the Council of Ministers. Present was Vladen Puntus, charge d'affairs ad interim at the Soviet Embassy in Budapest.

More on Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Talks

LD0303212589 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Premier Miklos Nemeth made a 1-day working visit to Moscow and has already arrived home. His agenda was busy, as you will hear from the report by Mihaly Hardi:

[Hardi] At the beginning of his discussions with Premier Miklos Nemeth, Mikhail Gorbachev stated, in connection with the changes in Hungary: The Soviet leadership looks with great trust and respect to its Hungarian friends, and to the decisions adopted by the MSZMP and its leadership. We trust that the Hungarian comrades, with their knowledge of local conditions, will reach sober, well-considered decisions. This was a very important remark, replied Miklos Nemeth, who was already at the negotiating table. Mikhail Gorbachev added that as for his confidence in the Hungarian leadership, in this matter he was not simply voicing his personal opinion but also conveying the unified stand of the Soviet party Central Committee.

Every communist party which is in power, supported by its own historical conditions and its national values, shapes its independent and sovereign policy. This for us is an indisputable basic principle, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed. His exchange of views this morning with Miklos Nemeth lasted for more than 90 minutes instead of the planned 1 hour. [passage omitted]

Prior to his departure this afternoon, Miklos Nemeth summed up the results of his talks as follows:

[Begin recording] [Nemeth] Comrade Gorbachev is well acquainted with the essence of the situation in Hungary, but he asked certain questions and asked for details. Beyond domestic and social policy issues, he asked in particular about the Central Committee session on agrarian policy and about the agrarian debates in Hungary. He went into detail by asking for specific proposals, concerning how we did it once, what solutions we used, etc.

We also exchanged views on the position of perestroyka and the reform process, the reform program in Hungary. He assured us that they react with sympathy and understanding to the reform process under way in Hungary, and he wished us much success in this.

[Hardi] During your talks with Comrade Ryzhkov, what happened after the cameras left the hall? What was discussed?

[Nemeth] Please, it is apparent from the current time of departure as well, that only a very short amount of time was available. For this reason, in essence, in addition to informing each other of things, we agreed on issues of principle. A very important part of this is that I received an invitation to the Soviet Union for an official visit within a few months, when we shall be able to discuss details. Thus, we conducted an inventory of the issues that should be entrusted to experts for investigation, what we should discuss in detail in a few months' time, and what we should sign or not sign. [end recording]

Discusses Ryzhkov, Gorbachev Talks

LD0303195489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth has arrived back home from the Soviet Union. He spoke at Ferihegy Airport to our correspondent Gabor Bankuti.

[Begin recording] [Bankuti] I believe that this was officially termed a working visit. At least, I heard that you immediately were invited on another visit, which will be official, friendly, and longer.

[Nemeth] Immediately upon arrival, Comrade Ryzhkov told me that important issues were to figure on the agenda of the next session of the CPSU—the renewal of agrarian policy, which we have already discussed. On the day of my arrival, the agrarian policy was in front of the politburo; they were unable to finish it. It was necessary to speed up, and to shorten somewhat, the programs of the working visit, because the Politburo continued the debate of the theses from 1600 today.

[Bankuti] Are they really acquainted with our material?

[Nemeth] Both Ryzhkov and Comrade Gorbachev asked very specific questions. Gorbachev would have liked to have learned about the manner in which we created interest, and the methods we used to bring about change, in the past—in the 1960s, after the abolition of the compulsory state delivery system—to independence. How did we integrate the household, auxiliary farms? In what kinds of specific solutions did proprietory interest gain expression?

[Bankuti] Therefore, the Hungarian example is very interesting, but I imagine that that was not the main topic.

[Nemeth] No, no, naturally, it was a very important topic.

[Bankuti] I imagine that this was not in the tone of an older sibling talking to a younger sibling.

[Nemeth] No, I have to tell you that the atmosphere, style, and spirit of the talks were conceived in a spirit of the principles stated by Gorbachev; for example, most recently in his Kiev speech concerning the new principles of international cooperation amid new conditions. Thus, respect for one another's independence, taking into consideration sovereignty. Every government owes responsibility to its own people as regards the solutions it chooses. There are many facets characterizing the perfecting of socialist democracy with regard to the versions of pluralism, whether amid the circumstances of a one-party or multiparty system—there are no obligatory stipulations of principle. It will be life and practice which decides the one that is less successful or more successful.

[Bankuti] What did (?he) say to our plan for a multiparty system?

[Nemeth] Gorbachev's approach was very interesting. He said that the essence is the assertion of democracy, that the people should feel awareness and the responsibility they have in shaping the socio-economic processes. It depends on many things, whether this happens amid the circumstances of a one-party system or a multiparty system. Generally, he stressed that we should not believe of ourselves, nor should the leadership of any of the countries believe that they have a perfect system of solutions that is valid for everyone. Put in straightforward terms, I believe—and I believe that this has, for us as well, a very important message-value—that they support the whole reform program.

[Bankuti] Including the political reforms?

[Nemeth] Including the political reforms that are taking place in Hungary. They are crossing their fingers for us, and they wished us success in this.

[Bankuti] For example, was the assessment of 1956 mentioned?

[Nemeth] Yes, it was mentioned, especially at the meeting with Comrade Gorbachev. He said: It is an elemental duty to face up to the past, if only because we should learn from our mistakes. However, a preoccupation with the past must not be allowed to divide a society. It is not correct if debates surrounding the assessment of the past draw energy away from the tasks of the present, and even more, of the future. He stressed that the nuanced nature, the complexity of the assessments, and the revelations of the domestic and international conditions are indispensable, but sufficient patience and tolerance...

[Bankuti, interrupting] But not that they should not deal with [word indistinct] (?in the assessment of 1956).

[Nemeth] No, to the contrary. He said that it is necessary to deal with this, that it is necessary to free ourselves from the trials of the past, for they must be left behind. He emphasized the tasks of the present and even more of the future.

[Bankuti] I imagine that our CEMA reform efforts were mentioned.

[Nemeth] In this regard we agreed that it is not possible under the old system to find satisfactory solutions to the new challenges that the world hands CEMA and the individual socialist countries; we feel these challenges day after day. The task is not to weaken CEMA; on the contrary, the most important issue we face is shaping a new mechanism for CEMA. In this it is necessary to more expediently find a possibility for an assertion of commodity-money relations, a mechanism to transform the system of interenterprise relations, and an assertion of goods-production laws.

[Bankuti] Possibly convertible currency?

[Nemeth] A convertible currency would be good, but we should have no illusions about this. There are many kinds of member countries and members of CEMA. Their levels of development vary. It is very important that the economic mechanisms of the individual member states should draw closer to one another. We agreed that we would send our plans, which are being elaborated, to the Soviet leadership—for example, for the purpose of keeping each other informed about our thoughts, of assisting the meeting of general secretaries that is expected to be convened this summer in Prague, and to place this issue on the agenda.

We should not be averse to finding, perhaps in bi- or trilateral systems of relations, new methods and solutions which really do facilitate mutually advantageous solutions and not backward development. We feel that if we give greater scope to commodity-money relations, to interenterprise relations, then that will not happen.

The Soviet comrades somewhat put to the forefront a counterproposal concerning allowances in kind. Well, it is possible that this is a very important and essential issue of debate, and not one that could not be bridged over. [end recording]

Further on Talks With Gorbachev

LD0503210189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by unidentified correspondent and unidentified presenter in the studio in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Premier Miklos Nemeth held talks this week in Moscow with Mikhail Gorbachev and head of government Ryzhkov. Our studio guest tonight is Premier Miklos Nemeth. Good evening.

[Nemeth] Good evening.

[Correspondent] What determines the fundamental tone of a meeting such as this one with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow?

[Nemeth] The way in which this meeting commenced well characterizes the fundamental tone. As I stepped into Comrade Gorbachev's room, journalists and photographers were already waiting for me. Comrade Gorbachev, while he was offering me some ey [Russian alcoholic drink], told me that he had been asked his reaction to Hungarian events.

[Presenter] The journalists asked.

[Nemeth] The journalists, yes. Naturally I asked: And how did you reply? His reply was a very concise sentence, of very great importance to us. He evaluated the standpoints of the latest Central Committee sessions as sober, nuanced, and considered. He emphasized that he had faith that his Hungarian friends, led by their responsibility before the people, had made a suitable decision to solve their accumulated problems and to determine the ways out for the future. And this fundamental sentence determined the character, aspect, and content of our talks, which lasted 1 and ½ hours.

[Correspondent] Before you stepped into the conference room, did you have doubts about what you would hear?

[Nemeth] I did not have doubts, for the openness and publicity which characterizes our politics and Soviet politics, too, made it absolutely clear for everyone—and will do so in the future—our standpoint regarding such questions. So, if you like, I could say that the Soviet leadership had the chance to prepare itself about Hungary, and I would say that our negotiating partners were informed and possessed a thorough overview.

[Correspondent] If I simplify the Soviet standpoint somewhat, then perhaps I am not mistaken if I say that it goes somewhat as follows: We are not going to do it the same way as you—this refers to the multiparty system—but we have confidence that you know what you are doing.

[Nemeth] Pluralism, democracy, and openness are guiding elements and guiding aims in Soviet politics, too. The fact that democracy is needed, openness is needed, and that interests must gain expression, interests must be pitted against each other, they must be instutionalized, this is characteristic in Soviet politics, too. Comrade Gorbachev emphasized that amid the conditions of the one-party system, so far we have not been able to give evidence historically (?of operating and developing) an adequate democracy. They envisage pluralism amid the conditions of a one party system, but they are not making it a question of principle—they emphasized this too—of other countries, due to their own historical legacies, taking into consideration their endowments, solving this same question in a different way; for example, in the case of Hungary, they are solving it in the conditions of a multiparty system.

[Correspondent] A great deal of what is going on in Hungary now, even more of what we are heading toward, are things which, 6 months or a year ago, would have been unimaginable not only in Hungary, but their reception in the socialist countries would have been unimaginable. A great deal is said, not by accident, in the press too, about the question of how much this harms external interests. What was your impression of whether a border can exist—and if so, where is it drawn—when what is happening in Hungary can harm Soviet security interests?

[Nemeth] I would like to refer to Comrade Gorbachev's speech in Donetsk or most recently in Kiev. This speech formulated very clearly and precisely the new fundamental principles of cooperation between the socialist countries—their new conditions if you like. Among these, without wishing to list them all, I would highlight: independence, sovreignty [words indistinct] the question of noninterference in others' internal affairs; or the fundamental principle that every party and government is responsible for its decisions first and foremost to its own people. These fundamental principles—I became convinced during our talks—are not simple decorative elements of Soviet policy, but are significant, determining elements concerning how we should build the future, how we should form contacts between each other. And, we too avow and support these fundamental principles, and they make it possible for us to enter through the historical gate of a new kind of qualitatively new cooperation.

I felt that for the Soviet leadership, the unity of words and deeds is perhaps more important than ever. Thus, I would emphasize that I felt a resolve and determined intention in the words of Comrade Gorbachev for the practical realization of the formulated principles.

[Correspondent] When you stood up at the end of this conversation, was your overall impression that what the MSZMP is now doing, declaring, and planning in Hungary, enjoys the support, and absolute support, of the Soviet leadership?

[Nemeth] Yes, I unambiguously received this impression, had this feeling. What is more, I can speak of more than an impression. Comrade Gorbachev emphasized several times—not just in the way of wishing us much success on our journey along our chosen path, but also that he was confident that the solution which we in Hungary are following in the reforms, would enrich the diversity that we can now notice in the socialist countries, and which is characteristic in almost every socialist country. The diversity of the chosen paths, methods, does not mean, however, that we do not wish the same thing regarding the fundamental principles. We do want the same thing: a more democratic, more human centered, socialism, with more of a human face. Except that this task is enormous. It transpired that this cannot be solved with a cavalry charge. The mistakes, the consequences of the past, cannot be done away from one moment to the next. So, alongside the appropriate, correct program, steadfastness, patience, resoluteness, and determination are also needed.

[Correspondent] You mentioned the past. What did they say to the evaluation of the past underway here in Hungary?

[Nemeth] They considered the evaluation of the past as nuanced, but to be continued. This debate is also underway there. Liberation from the ballasts of the past is indispensable. But this must not divide society. Concentration must be much more on the present, and even more on the future, because this generation has responsibility primarily for building the future.

[Correspondent] There is an area in which, I feel, there are just as vehement debates, even within the highest leadership, in Moscow as in Budapest. This is the internal pace of the economic and political reforms and their relations to each other. What experiences did you leave with?

[Nemeth] The debate is truly underway in the Soviet Union like in Hungary. My impression and feeling was that both my negotiating partners evaluated the harmony of the two areas as very important . Of course, a harmony must not be sought from minute to minute, moment to moment, between the reform of the political system of institutions and the economic reform, but as a tendency they regarded it as very important that the two areas proceed together. For, if the political reform runs ahead, there is a great danger of purging [kiuerueles], making order, or, if you like, Comrade Gorbachev put it thus, the iron-fist policy. And, this has never led to anything good.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the briefing.

Further Reportage

For reportage on the 3 March visit by Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to Moscow, including his meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, see the East Europe section of the 3 March Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Nemeth To Bring Reformers Into Government

LD0203124689 Budapest MTI in English
1106 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The Thursday [2 March] issue of the "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries an interview with Miklos Nemeth, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The interview deals with the visit he is starting to Moscow today, his first hundred days wearing the prime minister's cap, and government's strategy.

What was the programme of his working visit to Moscow and what did he hope to achieve?

"Full details of the programme haven't been worked out yet. I'll be talking to Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on several occasions, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, will also probably meet me. My schedule will take in a brief meeting with representatives of the Hungarian colony, too.

"The principal aim of the working visit is to obtain mutual information on the internal situation in, and cooperation between, the two countries. We'll be paying particular attention to economic policy, business links, and several other important topical questions in international politics and CMEA cooperation.

"This time again, I'd like to outline our plans for a reform of the CMEA. The policy of opening up economically to the world calls for radical reforms in the CMEA. Our aim is rapidly to establish Hungary's market economy. We're faced with the demand to improve the domestic market position on the one hand, whilst on the other we can see it'd be a desirable thing to establish long-term relations with the advanced capitalist states. At the same time, we can't disregard the great differences in levels of integration in the CMEA, the ways and means applied, and the varying extent of development the particular member countries have achieved. If the measures we plan are to be successful, we have to coordinate our positions."

Q: 'So in concrete terms, what are the main questions you'd like answered in Moscow?'

A: "One will definitely be how they assess the Hungarian reform processes. There are a few pressing problems attached to bilateral cooperation which will have to be ironed out as soon as possible—they affect the long-term interests of Hungarian agriculture and various industrial branches. A few questions concerning cooperation in 1989-1990 also need clearing up. Ways of countering, or reducing, Hungarian trade surpluses by Soviet extra deliveries, where traditional elements could be replaced by new methods, for example. Other examples from agriculture spring to mind. Hungary enjoys certain comparative advantages, superfluous commodities which are in short supply in the Soviet Union. However, these are heavily subsidized here, and therefore the internal financial conditions should also be considered when shaping prices.

"The establishment and intensification of direct company relations would promote cooperation, advancement and the creation of conditions for economic development in both countries. It's no good beating about the bush—we have to come out with it and say that under the present system, the relations of the particular CMEA countries are characterized by mutual disadvantages, rather than mutual advantages.

"I've been making efforts since my election to ensure the maintenance of operative government work and daily routine doesn't divert our attention from going ahead with the reform policy, so that the government can steadily embark on the road to advancement and mark out the relevant directions. We are just drafting the programme scheduled to be completed by the middle of this year. It's become obvious that the government's political strategy facilitates economic and social transition to an altered model of socialism. The organization of political forces capable of ensuring settled transition is under way. The government is shaping its political basis towards a reform centre which is equally present in society, parliament, the HSWP, the social and mass organizations and the alternative political groupings as well... it's important that the shift be accompanied by the transformation of economic structures and the gradual elimination of inflation-generating factors and causes, and that the government's attitude encourage enterprising spirit.

"Over the next few months, I'll be making further personnel changes in the government. I believe the government should be more united in thinking, line and concept... it's important for hard-working, reform-minded people to get into the government."

Spokesman on Kadar's Health, 7 Mar Party Session

LD0503114789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Janos Kadar, on the advice of his doctors, will not chair the Tuesday MSZMP Central Committee session due to an earlier operation from which he has not yet fully recovered. He is able to work on a daily basis for only 2-3 hours at a time. This was stated by Laszlo Major, a spokesman for the Central Committee, to VASARNAPI HIREK.

He also provided an advance account of the Tuesday session of the party's leading body.

The Central Committee will deal with its tasks and stands. A type of political thesis entitled "What the MSZMP Wants" has been prepared for the session and concerns, inter alia, the party's desire to reach a consensus with the progressive forces of Hungarian society. Janos Berecz, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, will give a speech supplementing the thesis, but nothing is yet known about the contents of this speech. The spokesman similarly lacks information about the foreign policy statement by Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szueros, although Laszlo Major is certain that human rights and disarmament will be discussed in it.

There will be a third point on the agenda: miscellaneous. In the spokesman's opinion it is impossible to predict what will be discussed here.

Gyula Horn Interviewed on Country's Neutrality

LD0303231389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Report by Bonn correspondent Zsolt Szalai]

[Text] Hungary does not want a special situation, one independent of the alliance system—this is the title of the interview in the Bonn GENERAL-ANZEIGER that Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gave to the paper's correspondent here in the West German capital.

In the conversation, he referred to a suggestion by Academician Oleg Bogomolov that our country's leaving the Warsaw Pact and joining the neutral states would be acceptable to the Soviet leadership. My reply is an unequivocal no, said the state secretary, whom the paper calls one of the most important theoretical pioneers of the Hungarian reform policy.

What is much more essential than that debate is whether democratization can be accelerated in the Warsaw Pact. The current conditions, the status quo, are the basis of the European peace process, and this must not be changed, with the exception of a simultaneous dissolution of the military alliances, added Gyula Horn. He had spent 2 days in Bonn in the middle of the week, and met with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Foreign Minister Genscher, as well as the leaders of the Christian Union parties and the Social Democrats.

It is mentioned in the interview that political stability and successful management are closely interrelated in the Hungarian reform process. It is a basic issue, the state secretary said, that we should develop market mechanisms in their entirety, and naturally, that we should strengthen relations with the countries in which this mechanism functions.

Gyula Horn on Arriving Sofia Embassy Refugees

AU2802181889 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Feb 89 p 5

[Interview with Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, by correspondent Lorinc Szendrei: "Transylvania—Sofia—Vienna—Budapest—Refuge After 5 Months"]

[Excerpt] The first news arrived from the MTI on the morning of 17 February: The Romanian refugees who had been living in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia for 5 months have left the Bulgarian capital. How and when can they arrive in Budapest? Is it possible to meet with the four children and eight adults? Then, late in the evening, we learned a few new things: The airplane has landed in Vienna. New questions emerged: Will they cross the Hungarian border by plane or by car? Finally, we learned that the group was in Hungary.

I called up Gyula Horn, state secretary at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, on the morning on 18 February.

[Szendrei] I would like to meet with the Hungarians who came from Sofia.

[Horn] I do not know who took them home.... I said home, because relatives and friends with homes here in Hungary were waiting for all the refugees.

[Szendrei] Who can give us more details?

[Horn] Perhaps the Red Cross. But, please understand that I greatly appreciate the solidarity and compassion of the people and of the press, but I think it would be better not to disturb them now. I ask this exclusively from humanitarian considerations. These people have been extremely affected by the 5 months they spent in the embassy.

[Szendrei] So there are no political reasons behind your request to postpone the meeting?

[Horn] No, there are no such reasons. These people have lived under such strain up until the last moment that they definitely need rest now.

[Szendrei] Could you give us some details concerning the reasons for this strain?

[Horn] In the afternoon of 17 February, it was still not certain that they could leave. We had to carry out extremely careful and discreet diplomatic activity, and then there was the fact that the people in question learned only 1 and ½ hours before departure time that they would be permitted to board a plane.

[Szendrei] Did the Romanian authorities not participate in this exchange of views?

[Horn] Not any more. We must mainly thank our Bulgarian friends for the success. Their extremely humane approach created the conditions for a solution. Of course, we have also expressed our thanks through diplomatic channels, and I now publicly confirm this here. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary Committee Discusses Refugee Issues

AU0303092589 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Feb 89 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Camps for Refugees From Transylvania—Report Submitted to the Session of the National Youth and Sports Committee of the National Assembly"]

[Excerpt] The number of Romanian refugees has reached almost 14,000, and the signs clearly show that we can again expect a stronger wave of resettlement with the arrival of milder weather, Deputy Minister of Interior Zoltan Gal said at a meeting of the Youth and Sports Department of the National Assembly, in providing details of the ministerial report to be submitted to the National Assembly.

Zoltan Gal noted that because accommodations for refugees who have already arrived remain unresolved, and because their unclarified situation is a source of many problems, it has become imperative to establish a network of reception camps. A committee of experts is already studying possibilities and searching for proper places where camps, although they will be only temporary, can be developed which will provide the minimal requirements of humanity.

The government's stand on the basic issue remains unchanged. In other words, the government does not encourage the mass resettlement of Hungarian nationals into the mother country. We have no political interest in this, unlike those who consider homogeneity their goal, Zoltan Gal pointed out. He added that the only long-term solution is for the Hungarian national minorities to be able to live as Hungarians in Romania! [passage omitted]

Foreign Affairs Body on Measures

AU0303135489 Budapest MTI in English 2124 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 01/03/1989—At the joint session of the Hungarian Parliament's Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee held on Wednesday [1 March], the situation of the Romanian refugees was discussed, including the report on the planned measures worked out by the Council of Ministers.

Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of interior informed committee members that by May 31st, a specific proposal would be submitted regarding the refugee camps. The most important task is to specify a single site for the registration of refugees arriving and a more coordinated orientation of newcomers on possible sites for their settlement. 70 per cent of the refugees intend to live and work in Budapest or in the eastern part of the country. By June 31st local legal conditions will be elaborated for Hungary to become a signatory to the Geneva Convention on Refugees. Until this date temporary measures will be taken to solve the legal status of refugees. According to current concepts, after expiry of the temporary residence permits issued with a validity of six months, the new documents to be provided—with the exception of the global passport—will assure the same rights as those of Hungarian citizens. Of the allocated 300 million forint resettlement fund, 74 million forints have been spent so far, Mr Gal said.

Poland's Orzechowski Arrives, Meets Berecz

LD0103231889 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 1—Political Bureau member, PUWP CC [Central Committee] Secretary Marian Orzechowski arrived here today at the invitation from the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

Marian Orzechowski met with Political Bureau member, HSWP CC Secretary Janos Berecz here today. They exchanged information on the activities of both parties in the process of changes taking place in Poland and Hungary.

They also summed up the results of cooperation between the PUWP and the HSWP in ideology and politics, expressed full approval for joint actions undertaken by both parties and the agreed upon further steps.

Party talks will be continued on the visit's second day, Thursday [2 March]. A meeting with HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz is also planned.

Continues Talks, Meets Grosz

LD0203220989 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2—On the second day of his visit to Hungary, Marian Orzechowski, a PUWP CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau member and CC secretary, continued talks with Janos Berecz, a member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the HSWP CC.

Orzechowski was also received by General Secretary of the HSWP CC Karoly Grosz to whom he relayed cordial greetings from PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. The greetings were reciprocated. During a nearly two-hour discussion, the sides highly assessed the level of relations and cooperation between the fraternal parties and comprehensive and fast-developing cooperation between Poland and Hungary in all fields.

Views and experience were exchanged on transformations in the political and economic systems of both countries. At issue was particularly dialogue and agreement between various political and social forces which the "round table" in Poland was an expression of. A conviction was expressed about the need to maintain closer contacts between both parties.

Confers With Pozsgay

LD0403000889 Warsaw PAP in English 1935 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budpaest, March 3—Political Bureau member and PUWP CC [Central Committee] Secretary Marian Orzechowski ended his three-day working visit to Hungary today.

Orzechowski had talks with Political Bureau member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party CC and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay today, on the last day of his visit.

"The topic of our exchange of thoughts was an evolution of the political system and the role of the party, placing the party vis-a-vis parliament and social organizations. We discussed the ways of actions that could make the party remain the leading and inspiring force," Orzechowski told the PAP correspondent.

"My interlocutor confirmed that he would visit Poland soon," Orzechowski added.

Foreign Ministry Briefing on Vienna Arms Talks

LD0303172489 Budapest MTI in English 1556 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—Hungary attaches particular importance to the foreign ministerial talks of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada, scheduled to open on Monday concerning the European conventional armed forces and confidence-building and security-promoting measures. It is considered important for the two negotiating forums to decide on practical measures to reduce the level of military confrontation in Europe and to strengthen stability, said Foreign Ministry spokesman Tibor Toth at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Friday [3 March]. He added that the aim of the country is to actively participate in working out agreements that will enhance the security of all negotiating parties and also allow for reducing Hungarian armed forces and troops stationed in the country, as well as curtailing military expenditure.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry sees a realistic chance of the talks yielding success in the foreseeable future, which is promoted by the major improvements in the relationship of the two powers and the European political atmosphere in recent years. Members of the alliance systems have no irreconcilable differences as to the necessity and way of implementing the armed forces reduction. They agree that the balance of military power can be attained at a considerably lower level of armed forces through abolishing asymmetries and making further major cuts in troops and armaments. As the sides agree that the on-site inspection of data should be made possible, the strength dispute that brought to a stalemate the earlier talks on central European troops reductions for more than 10 years is unlikely to be repeated. The fact that the forthcoming talks will be looking for ways of strengthening stability in relation of entire Europe is also promising.

The spokesman finally stated that the Foreign Ministry expects the talks to further improve and work out a new generation of the confidence and security promoting measures adopted at the Stockholm conference, covering the air force and naval activity decisive for European security. The Hungarian delegation to the three-day opening meeting will be headed by Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, who will take the floor on March 6.

During his visit to Vienna, Peter Varkonyi is to hold bilateral talks with his Spanish, Greek, Dutch and Austrian counterparts. According to the established practice, the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries will probably meet at the multilateral forum in Vienna.

Several correspondents have inquired about the Foreign Ministry's position concerning Romania's reaction to the Hungarian contribution delivered at the session of the human rights commission of the United Nations Organization. In his reply, Istvan Komoroczki, the other spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, pointed out that the Foreign Ministry rejects statements containing unilateral Romanian assessment because of lack of grounds. On the other hand, the ministry considers it needless to engage in public polemics with the Romanian partner, and will also try to discuss this question at bilateral talks in a calmer atmosphere.

Answering another question relating to Romania, he said that Hungary's new commercial counsellor in Bucharest had already started work and, according to information at his disposal, he had been treated normally.

With reference to the first sucessful family re-unification, Mr Komoroczky said that the consular department of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest had played a part in the mediation. The three children who received permission from Romania for resettlement to Hungary were reunited with their parents on Friday morning. The Foreign Ministry sincerely hopes that this event marks the beginning of a process.

In reply to a question concerning the case of Salman Rushdie, British author of Indian descent, Mr Komoroczki said that no official Hungarian position can be expected on the issue, as the Foreign Ministry regards it as a dispute between two countries concerning the Islamic religion. At the same time, he pointed out that it is completely alien to the Hungarian way of thinking for somebody's life to be threatened with a price on his head.

Varkonyi Departs for Vienna

LD0503213389 Budapest MTI in English 1939 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—Peter Varkonyi, Hungarian foreign minister, left for Vienna on Sunday, March 5, to attend the festive opening of talks on conventional armed forces and confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

Szuros on National Assembly Speaker Candidates

LD0203202189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Contradictory statements saw the light of day at the start of the week as to who would be elected to the office of speaker of the National Assembly, following the resignation of Istvan Stadinger. Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, according to reports, have rejected the call, while Matyas Szuros has not. What is his opinion of the various statements?

[Begin Szuros recording] I, too, was surprised by the fact that on Monday [27 February] contradictory statements were heard from Hungarian leaders with regard to nominations for the post of speaker of the National Assembly. This is all the more so because my name also came up. What presently in fact accords with reality is what Miklos Nemeth said about this at Szombathely, according to which the party has not yet nominated anyone to this post. My contribution to all this has been, at the consultation that took place within the party leadership, that should my name come up, they may nominate me. The question is, precisely, that we also want to change the method, the form, of the nomination, so that the National Assembly deputies should now at last be the first to express an opinion concerning who they wish to see in this post. [end recording]

Solidarity Committee Regrets DPRK Attacks

LD0203225689 Budapest MTI in English 2110 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The Secretariat of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee notes with regret in its statement, issued on Thursday [2 March], the recent publication of articles sharply attacking Hungary in the press of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, following the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Hungary and the Republic of Korea. The body voices the opinion that the statements are offensive to the Hungarian people, harm the friendship of the two nations which has a past of several decades, and are unacceptable in international practice.

The articles of an offensive tone are all the more surprising, because the committee has demonstrated its continued solidarity with Korea over the past decades, for the peaceful reunification of the nation. In addition, it also backs the related initiatives of various state and social organizations of the DPRK.

The Hungarian people can well remember the destructive war on the Korean peninsula, when Hungary assisted the fighting Korean people with medicine, food supplies and experts.

This long-lasting commitment of Hungary, provides the moral basis for the solidarity committee to reject these offensive manifestations. At the same time, we have every confidence that the DPRK will revise its unacceptable stand, concluded the statement of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee.

Straub Receives New South Korean Ambassador

LD0203171789 Budapest MTI in English 1559 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, has met Han Tak-chae, the new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Korea to Hungary, who presented his credentials.

Border Protection Measures To Be Phased Out

LD2802232989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Report by correspondent Elemer Csak on the 28 February MSZMP Central Committee Politburo session]

[Text] Today the Politburo debated several important topics. It discussed among other things the party's short-term program of action, and to get the program accepted, it convened a Central Committee session for 7 March.

The Politburo also dealt with the development of the People's Army, the long-term tasks of the border guard, and the 15 March celebration. Finally, it evaluated Karoly Grosz's talks in the CSSR and Yugoslavia.

Spokesman Emil Kimmel began his briefing while the Politburo was still in session. He announced that the title of the MSZMP periodical that will soon appear will be NEW FORUM. We now quote him:

[Begin Kimmel recording] At its session today the Politburo dealt with a return to an earlier Central Committee resolution—that is, the decision that evolved in the wake of the debate at the memorable 10-11 February Central Committee session, that the party's short-term—that is 1 and ½ to 2-year—action program must be formulated. This must not be an ideological program, but it must deal expressly with today's problems and concerns, and express the notions of the party concerning the significant questions that affect the fate of the nation and its intentions concerning what must be done.

The Politburo discussed this subject and advised that the Central Committee should place it on the agenda at its next session. At the same time, it decided to convene the Central Committee session for 7 March.

As for the second point on the agenda, the Politburo discussed a report on the situation of the Hungarian People's Army and proposals concerning the long-term development tasks of the People's Army. In connection with this, it decided that the Central Committee, at a later date, in the 2d half of the year, should place the party's political policy concerning the military on the agenda.

As for the third subject, the Politburo dealt with the long-term tasks of border protection. The report mentioned that protecting the border means increased responsibilities for the border guard. This is due to the happy fact that Hungary's contacts with the world have expanded; they have accelerated at a great rate. Because of this, the tasks entailed in border protection have changed, as have the priorities. The Politburo proposed, on the basis of the report, that the enormous political burdens of the earlier strict protection of the border, which arise from the maintenance of the cleared zone and the electronic alarm system, should perhaps no longer be undertaken.

Thus, according to the proposal, they agreed on gradually winding up these in such a way that by 1 January [not further specified], both the cleared zone and the electronic alarm system would gradually be phased out.

Among various things, the Politburo did not deal with all of its requirements, but it did assess the conception of the party's new periodical, and at the same time, out of a dozen or so names, it decided on its new name: The name of the party's new periodical will be NEW FORUM. This periodical will partially—not replace, for that is not the right word—assume the mantle of the periodicals PARTELET, PROPAGANDISTA, and POLITIKA TUDOMANY, but with a completely different tenor, in a renewed form.

The Politburo dealt with the celebration of 15 March. It will submit its proposals in connection with this to the next Central Committee session. The essence of this is that the holiday should express the solidarity of those social forces who feel responsibility for the common future, the sense of belonging to the nation. It will create a proposal in connection with this for the party call, which will be made public after the Central Committee session.

Apart from this, the Politburo also dealt with personnel questions. This is always a mysterious phrase. Let me preempt a question here. We have already discussed this, but I will preempt the colleague who will say: The Politburo has appoined Comrade Laszlo Karcagi deputy editor in chief of NEPSZABADSAG. He was previously a reporter for the paper, and then an editor. [end recording]

It is in our strategic interest that socialist building be in a state of equilibrium in the countries neighboring us, emphasized Gyula Thurmer, advisor to the general secretary. He gave a briefing on Karoly Grosz's latest trips. He said that the Politburo considers the general secretary's talks in the CSSR and Yugoslavia to have been useful and successful.

At the time of my report, the MSZMP Politburo is still debating the last two points on the agenda, and the spokesman's briefing is still continuing.

SZOT Officials on Roundtable Talks Concept

LD2802150489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] MSZMP and SZOT [National Trade Union Council] representatives consider it conceivable that in Hungary a roundtable conference, similar to that in Poland, could also come about. Pal Sos asked some questions following today's discussion.

[Begin recording] [Sos] The key question was increasingly evident from the dialogue between the MSZMP and SZOT about whether a national roundtable conference can come about today in Hungary, and if yes, then under what conditions. SZOT Secretary Mrs Kosa, nee Magda Kovacs, comments on this:

[Kosa] I think that the concerned bodies of the trade unions will say yes to this question. The question was put in the following way: Do we hope that such a conference will help ease mistrust? By all means we see hope in this.

[Sos] If it becomes established, then perhaps we can advance in the questions of elections, the strike law, creating the constitution, and on many other matters in which rather great contradictions today exist in society. What is more, some people, such as Gyorgy Fejti, say it is today hard to conceive of a forum which would adequately represent Hungarian society.

[Kosa] We would not consider such a forum a decision-making forum, and we especially would not consider it a forum that would assume the competency of other elected bodies or that would question this. We do not strive for hegemony either in the organization or in asserting views. Today there are organizations outside SZOT as well, and the existence of these organizations is a reality, even if compared to SZOT's membership they comprise an insignificant number of employees. I think that trade unions, both those belonging to SZOT and those outside of it, must exchange opinions about the possibility of the representation, but debate is justified even in a social circle with a wider scope.

It is my conviction that political strength feeds itself from the organized nature of the organizations and the support of the membership standing behind it. This is what is important—not loudness.

[Sos] What is the opinion of Secretary-expert Istvan Gyorgy? It seemed to me from the dialogue that the MSZMP is also inclined toward such a solution.

[Gyorgy] Yes, that is true, However, a part of the social organizations and alternative organizations have perhaps not defined themselves adequately. Thus, when the MSZMP offers to hold talks, it would also like to know (?the other side's) stands and social background.

[Sos] How can this be viewed?

[Gyorgy] If they give a statement about their own program and intentions, then this, in a bilateral relation of trust, is a sufficient self-definition.

[Sos] This sort of roundtable should be freed of pride of power and all those wild tangents that would disturb the talks.

[Gyorgy] Sandor Nagy [SZOT general secretary] has made a very interesting remark. He said that roundtable talks could come about due to so-called sociopolitical factors.

[Sos] And do you acccept this?

[Gyorgy] Naturally, I think that this is acceptable to every party. With a concensus, they can then sufficiently urge the National Assembly or the Council of Ministers to adopt suggestions for such a forum. [end recording]

Trade Union Federation To Be Established

LD0103161989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Excerpts] The trade unions are to become a federation. This was announced by Sandor Nagy, SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] general secretary. Is this change purely formal, or is there more to it? Peter Juhasz has spoken with Sandor Nagy.

[Begin recording] [Nagy] I very much hope not. Functioning on a federation basis is above all a new political phenomenon, a new way of looking at things, a new way of thinking. The persons and organizations taking part in the federation have a great deal of independence. It follows from this that the organization is not directed from above with resolutions, but rather that it is the consensuses that are formed from initiatives coming from below which shape the content of political and interest-serving endeavors. [passage omitted]

We want to make direct elections wider than ever before, and we would like to significantly expand the activities of bodies by following the principle of representation. [passage omitted]

[Juhasz] A protest note was composed this morning from which I quote: Those working in the organization, those dealing with the legal aid service, were surprised to learn of the cessation of legal aid services. The Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County Trade Union Council protests against the cessation of trade union legal aid services. What is your opinion of this protest note that they will send the Justice Ministry?

[Nagy] I share the opinion that it would be a rather bad step on the part of the government if it really wants to seriously bring this about. The legal aid service is a great achievement of the Hungarian trade union movement, and a service which aids very many people, one that we would not like to give up under any circumstances. [end recording]

MSZMP, New March Front Meet 1 Mar

LD0203081389 Budapest MTI in English
0723 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the New March Front agree that a consultative forum serving dialogue and compromise between the various socio-political organizations of diversifying domestic political life in Hungary, should be set up as soon as possible, it was stated during the Wednesday [1 March] meeting of leading representatives of the HSWP and the New March Front. The discussions covered the front's recent proposals on ways of facilitating transition to representative democracy.

Gyorgy Fejti, secretry of the HSWP Central Committee, informed the leaders of the New March Front that in the coming days the party would hold extensive bilateral dialogue with several political and social organizations, including the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, the Ference Munnich Society, the Federation of Hungarian Resistance-Fighters, [and] Antifascists, the National Council of Hungarian Youth organizations and the Federation of Free Democrats. The series of preparatory discussions will be followed by multilateral consultation.

Ivan Vitanyi, acting secretary of the New March Front, proposed that a committee should be set up to prepare the formation of the Hungarian national committee on the front's initiative.

Participants in the meeting confirmed their earlier stand that in the present home political situation it would be premature to invite general elections for convening a constitutional national assembly. On the other hand, the dialogue of political forces to be fielded for future elections and the rapid creation of political "rules of game" was considered indispensable for overcoming the social crisis of confidence, for filling the so-called legitimation vacuum.

Democratic Forum To Hold National Conference

LD0203211589 Budapest MTI in English
1802 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—The approximately 12,000-member Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), which comprises some four hundred organizations and groups, is to hold a nationwide conference with 700 participants on March 11-12 to discuss the draft of the foundation rules and that of the manifesto.

For the time being, MDF does not intend to turn into a party. Three trends have emerged so far within the organization: liberal, middle of the road, and Christian Democratic.

The statement of the temporary board of the MDF claims that no organized political factor in Hungary questions that the only way to survive the deepening political crisis is a sharing of the power, as well as a parliamentary democracy with a multi-party system.

The board does not support the fact that a Hungarian democratic constitutional state is to be realized by a parliament which does not reflect the division of present Hungarian society. At the same time, they do not support the establishment of a national committee which would call all Hungarian political parties, organizations and movements to negotiate with one another as seemingly equal partners. The statement of the MDF board also states that the new legislation seeking new national consensus is accompanied by a deteriorating social atmosphere. Therefore, the particpants of the negotiations should agree on transitionary regulation of the economic processes.

Social Democratic Youth Movement To Be Revived

LD0103032389 Budapest MTI in English
2204 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 28 (MTI)—A group of young blue- and white-collar workers held a meeting in the law faculty building of Otvos Lorand University, Budapest, on Tuesday [28 February] to revive the Hungarian Social Democratic Youth Movement which dates back 100 years.

Part of the group was from the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), and part from the Social Democratic Youth Circle.

Participants in the Tuesday meeting will draw up a manifesto about the revival of the movement which will be read at the general assembly of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party on March 1st.

1989 Trade Turnover With USSR To Decrease

LD0203164889 Budapest MTI in English
1456 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Budapest, March 2, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Since coordination negotiations dragged on rather, the 1989 inter-state protocol between Hungary and the Soviet Union was signed only in early February of this year.

The protocol forecasts a decrease in bilateral trade for 1989. Compared to 1988 targets, Hungarian imports are to be cut by 7 per-cent, in addition to a 11-per-cent reduction in exports.

The value of turnover between the two countries in 1989 is expected to be 4.3 billion roubles on both sides. Last year, Hungarian exports amounted to 4.8 billion roubles, while imports reached 4.5 billion roubles. In 1987, Hungarian exports were around 4.9 billion roubles, with imports about 4.5 billion roubles.

The trade pattern comes down in favour of the Hungarian side, since in 1989, machine industry products accounted for 58 per cent of exports, or 2.5 bilion roubles.

Because of a decrease in turnover, Hungary is to cut major groups of goods proportionately. Deliveries of machinery and equipment are to be cut from the 1988 figure (for example, 1,000 fewer Ikarusz buses will be exported to the Soviet Union), but deliveries by the Hungarian light industry, agriculture, and food industry will also be reduced.

According to this year's inter-state protocol, the Soviet Union is to boost deliveries which are of importance to the Hungarian party—natural gas, anthracite, fertilizers, certain rolled goods, and various chemical materials, for instance.

Hungary is to purchase energy carriers from the Soviet Union to the value of 2.7 billion roubles, and chemical materials to the value of 0.3 billion roubles. In 1989, it will also be possible to import 700 million cubic metres' more natural gas than in the previous year, since, complying with the target figure of the Yamburg agreement, the Soviet Union is to start natural gas deliveries this year.

Trading between the two countries is partly carried out using the hard-currency accounting system under an agreement signed in 1985. The Soviet Union's dollar sales consist mainly of energy sources, whereas food industry products, particularly poultry, pork, beef, wheat and sunflowers, figure among Hungary's hard-currency export items.

Hard-currency trade between the Soviet Union and Hungary showed a U.S. $184-million Hungarian surplus in 1988, as against $82 million in the previous year.

Police, Gdansk Youth Clash; Walesa Makes Appeal

Police Break Up Demonstration

AU0503152589 Paris AFP in English
1511 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 5 (AFP)—Polish police used truncheons to break up an anti-government demonstration Sunday by several hundreds of young people at Gdansk, in northern Poland, informed sources said. Some of the demonstrators were injured and about a dozen were detained by police, the sources said.

The gathering took place after a mass attended by Lech Walesa, leader of the banned trade union Solidarity at Saint Brigitte's church in Gdansk's shipyards.

The demonstrators threw stones at security forces as they marched toward's the city's central station, shouting anti-communist slogans. The police made several charges to break up the gathering, which dispersed after about an hour.

DPA Reports Protest Activity

LD0503164589 Hamburg DPA in German
1606 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Once again clashes occurred in Gdansk on Sunday between young demonstrators and police. The youngsters pelted police, who used baton charges against them, with stones. After a mass in St Brygida Church they marched to the station shouting: "There is no freedom without Solidarity" and "Down with the commune."

After the mass, workers' leader Lech Walesa once again tried to enlist support for his course of understanding with the authorities at the roundtable. At a gathering outside the parish hall he asked his followers to give the roundtable a chance, and to refrain from demonstrating. For weeks there have been clashes between radical youngsters and police practically every Sunday in Gdansk.

In Lublin delegates of the banned Independent Student Union (NZS) from all the city's colleges have decided to ban gatherings and demonstrations until the end of this month. In a statement in which they refer to the appeal by Walesa they express the expectation that by the end of the month the student union will be legalized.

Walesa Urges Reconciliation

LD0503200689 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] And now a report from Gdansk by our correspondent Marek Goclowski.

[Goclowski] As on every Sunday following the mass in St Brygida's, Lech Walesa met with participants of the service and answered their questions.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Today we have 2 weeks left. Two weeks which must create a chance, must give you a chance. If not, I repeat, we'll come back and we'll continue. That is why I would like you today and up to that time to really trust us, trust yourselves, and give Polish reconciliation a chance. Let's try. Pluralism has to be negotiated; the organizations have to be formed. Only then can we organize ourselves, consider the programs, and present them to society so that no crooks can get in and create a greater mess like others have done before.

[Unidentified voice] I have a question. Lech, can you tell us what the spirit of the talks between yourself and General Kiszczak was like, and what you can reveal from that talk?

[Walesa] I also hear the information, which you hear, that it is going slowly, that it should be quicker, and so on. We held a meeting of all the people who lead the groups at the talks so that they could say what hampers, what obstructs, where something should be given a push, cut short, and so on. Those people spoke about all the barriers in all the subjects and we tried to remove them. Once again I am returning to the fact that we haven't got such powers to make such a decision; we must seriously respect that large body—some 300 people are taking part in the talks, and various specialists. We cannot arrange matters for them, because they wouldn't be necessary. We are trying exclusively, in a political manner, to remove the obstacles which have accumulated. [applause]

[Unidentified voice] I am a miner and am using this meeting here to try to find out what is going to happen to our mining table. Are you able to reconcile those sides there in some way?

[Walesa] Everything in turn, I'm telling you. It is probable on this issue and many others that we will not achieve what we would like. But I am very very sorry, that was the subject that I was given by you publicly, by Poland. What were the subjects you gave me? Solidarity, the only one. Will I be able to do more? We'll sort out the issue of farmers and students and other freedoms, Did I fulfill my duty? But do it yourselves [as heard]. If the democratic forms are widened; if you are going to be able to function legally; all these subjects, including the mining one—please, do more.

You must do more. I, in this state of affairs, did the maximum—I cannot do more. Maybe (?I) will succeed.

[Unidentified voice] Do you not think that Solidarity at this moment in some way is supporting the government camp through its authority?

[Walesa] We are not supporting anyone. I am not signing anything. I am only creating the possibilities for you to do it better, differently. Ladies and gentlemen, I have explained it to you already a thousand times: There is no revolution in the direction of [word indistinct], and so, even after the throwing of stones, [word indistinct], solution at the table, we will enter the road of evolution anyway, because the economy, democracy, [words indistinct]. And this cannot be imposed on people.

There is no imposition in this direction. That is why I say once again to the youth, that even if I am mistaken and you are right, and you overcome these authorities with stones, then you will still stand in the same spot as Lech Walesa, at the table. You will say: Well, yes, there are possibilities, we will make a different economy. You can't do anything else. You have to enter onto the road of old Walesa, only the question is: With or without stones? For the moment, I am trying without. [end recording]

More on Walesa Remarks

LD0503215289 Warsaw PAP in English 2027 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Gdansk, Mar 5—Lech Walesa addressed a group of people gathered in the courtyard of St. Brigida's Church in Gdansk following mass. He positively assessed the course and results of the roundtable meetings.

Walesa made several appeals to residents of Gdansk for common sense and calm, as well as support and active participation in the process of reforms and transformations. He also replied to numerous questions.

Walesa stated that if a chance for democracy and pluralism opens before society, then it is in the interest of all to capitalize on it. He added that the authorities were currently, as never before, ready for agreement and reforms. That is why there are currently no premises for a boycott of the elections to the Sejm. Of course we are already creating the frames of a new, democratic order. This must be an evolutionary process. The opposition, even if it wanted to take over power, is not ready for this, Walesa said.

Walesa used sharp words when blaming extreme groupings and their leaders for demagogy and the dissemination of extreme, harmful slogans. In this respect he referred to a leaflet in which Kornel Morawiecki of the so-called "Solidarity Walczaca" accused him of being a traitor and selling out the ideals of "Solidarity." It will be such as the working people want it to be and this depends on them, Walesa said.

Warning allowing irresponsible people into the trade union leadership, Walesa stated that he would not permit a situation in which extremists and demagogues could do harm once again.

Despite the appeals of Walesa and Father Henryk Jankowski for peace and discipline, groups of young people later on tried to disturb order in the city's centre. The participants shouted provocative slogans of the kind "police-gestapo," "down with the commies," "Judases" and pelted the law enforcement forces with coins and next with rocks. Only then did the militiamen start dispersing the demonstrators.

The disturbances, which affected several streets and the vicinity of the main railway station, lasted nearly an hour.

Urban Fields Questions From Gdansk Students

AU0103132989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 89 p 6

[PAP report: "Jerzy Urban Guest of Students of Gdansk Polytechnic"]

[Text] Jerzy Urban's 23 February meeting with students of Gdansk Polytechnic, the idea of the leadership of the "Vanguard 21" group, caused an enormous amount of interest. J. Urban was literally showered with questions. He said that the government was worried by the wave of wage demands, and afraid that this might disturb the process of reforming the state and economy. "If the reform process collapses, Poland will lose yet another great chance," said J. Urban. "That would push Poland years back in time. However, no change in the authorities will cause a change in the economic situation."

J. Urban explained the purpose of the government's economic intentions, and argued with the view that the reform has failed. "We are open to all intelligent ideas, but right now there is no alternative to the government's rules of the economic game," he said.

"Do you foresee a situation where the opposition assumes power and the PZPR becomes the opposition?" J. Urban was asked. "That is possible, but it should not happen in the foreseeable future," he replied. He explained that the "roundtable" has agreed that changes should be implemented gradually. "Both the government side and the other sides believe that the transitional period should last a little longer before a new order emerges. This transitional period should continue throughout the next Sejm term of office, or perhaps only until 1991, when the new constitution will be adopted," said J. Urban.

Asked what he thought of censorship, J. Urban replied: "As a journalist, I am in favor of it because a censor does not sit inside an editor's head, but somewhere else. As a roundtable participant, however, I am in favor of abolishing preventive censorship."

Replying to a remark whereby there are too many trade unionists, including the OPZZ, at the "roundtable," J. Urban said that the trade unionists are complaining that, as representatives of 7 million trade unionists in Poland, there are too few of them at the "roundtable."

"When will the NZS [Independent Students Union] be legalized, and under what conditions?" someone asked. "It is more than likely that the NZS will be legalized," J. Urban replied. "Work on registration procedures is continuing right now, just like in the case of 'Solidarity.' However, I am not at all sure whether it is going to be a field day for the present activists, because there are going to be demands that the activity of the NZS should conform to the law and become 'civilized'. If the NZS assumes a terrorist character like the 'Krakow Group,' which tried to imprison the education minister recently, then the NZS will be in conflict with the law."

Students Demonstrate in Lodz; No Intervention

LD0503214989 Warsaw PAP in English
2107 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Lodz, Mar 5—A group of students staged a demonstration here today, marching from St. Theresa Church to a local university campus where a rally was held after the procession.

The students were demanding registration of the Independent Students' Union NZS and reform in higher schools, among other things. Police did not intervene.

Pay Demands Continue To Cause Protest Actions

LD0103231189 Warsaw PAP in English
2227 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 1—Pay demands continue to be the main cause of disputes in some enterprises. Protest actions and strikes were reported in many places across Poland today.

Workers of the Marchlewski cotton works in Lodz went on a sit-in strike starting from the second shift today. Dispute continues in the road transport PKS branch in Sedziszow Malopolski where more than 100 buses do not leave the depot.

600 workers of another PKS branch in Rzeszow are working regularly. But there, too, a strike alert has been proclaimed together with demands of more pay.

A meat industry plant in Lublin has not worked the third day today because its workers want wages increase the factory cannot afford. Negotiations are underway.

Strike in the machinery and transport section of a construction plant in Szczecin which began three days ago has now spread over the whole enterprise. Cement transport and forwarding agency in Szczecin is still not working just as some 150 workers of two departments of the "Zamech" in Elblag where talks have been resumed over the crew's wages demands.

Postulates of higher wages were also negotiated at the machinery section of the recently opened construction enterprise in Kwidzyn where a group of about 90 workers are on strike.

A strike at a sanitary repairs and cleaning enterprise in Gdynia ended in signing an agreement and suspending strike action till April. Also today work resumed at the cellucotton producing plant in Milowka which is part of the paper factory "Solali" in Zywiec.

Wednesday saw the end of a sit-in strike in the cotton factory "Pamotex" in Pabianice where agreement was reached on wages, extra bonuses, and pay for overtime hours. A dispute in the construction enterprise in Slupsk came to an end, too, as workers and administration concluded negotiations on wages.

Negotiations Yield Labor Dispute Resolutions

LD0303110589 Warsaw PAP in English 0155 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 2—Pay demands and problems of work organization and social benefits—these are the main sources of labour disputes which were either continued or started on this March 2nd at some work establishments. Negotiations were conducted to solve the existing conflicts. In some cases they ended in a success today.

Postmen in the central Polish city of Lodz declared a strike alert and stopped to deliver newspapers and magazines to individual subscribers. The strike committee, sponsored by the trade union of employees of the voivodship post and telcommunictions office, put forward some postulates including a rise in monthly wages. The postmen said that if by this half-March the negotiations did not bring any result they would go on a general strike and stop to deliver any correspondence in the Lodz Voivodship. The employees of the zootechnical experimental farm at Kolbacz near Szczecin terminated their week-long protest action after they won a pay increase. Work went on without stoppages during the protest action.

The strike alert was called off at the Violetta Cristal Glass Works in Stronie Slaskie, Walbrzych Voivodship after an agreement was signed between the works' trade union organisation and the management of the works.

Some Transport Strikes End, Others Continue

LD0503205389 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1900 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] News is coming in from the country concerning the ending of strikes and protest actions in work enterprises, among other things, actions in the Municipal

Transport Enterprise in Konin, in the State Motor Transport section in Kozienice, and in the municipal and housing economy enterprise in Kutno, have ended. A strike is continuing, however, in the Loose Cement Transportation and Forwarding Enterprise in Szczecin. Protest actions are also being continued by the work-forces of the Szczecin Locomotive works and the Polish State Railways of Wzgorze Hetmanskie.

Solidarity Could Be Legal 'By End of Month'

AU0303180789 Paris AFP in English
1803 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Mar 3 (AFP)—The banned trade union Solidarity could be legalised by the end of the month if roundtable talks between the Polish Government and opposition groups end in agreement, leading dissident Jacek Kuron said Friday.

Mr. Kuron, a member of the opposition delegation at the talks now in their fourth week, noted that the Polish authorities sought the active participation of Solidarity in forthcoming parliamentary elections, which may be held in June. The electoral timetable would require Solidarity to be legalised before the end of the month, he said. He said this would require agreement on a "contract" between the authorities and the opposition in the roundtable talks which opened on February 6.

A close collaborator of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, Mr Kuron said he "did not think it possible an agreement would not be reached", since both sides were aware of the "incalculable" consequences of a breakdown of the talks. [passage omitted]

Solidarity Officials View Subteam Meetings

LD0403045589 Warsaw PAP in English
2121 GMT 3 Mar 89

[By Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 3—"One must not count on the roundtable solving all Polish problems. What matters is to settle general questions and to start putting them into life," Janusz Onyszkiewicz, the spokesman for Solidarity and representatives of independent milieus taking part in the roundtable debate, told a news conference here today.

This view was shared by Henryk Samsonowicz, representing that side in the subteam for science, education and technological progress: "The wisest solutions adopted at the table will not have any significance whatsoever if developments in this country fail to proceed in the direction desired by all of us."

Samsonowicz stressed that the least controversial question among those discussed by his team is that of the functioning of secondary and primary education, including schools not financed by the state. By way of example, the participants agreed that this year's secondary school leaving examinations will provide for just a facultative choice of the subject "propaedeutics to social science." The greatest controversy as far as higher education is concerned is stil focusing on the question of changing the structure of collegiate bodies in higher schools, and in broader terms—on amending the current law on higher education.

Alojzy Pietrzyk who co-chaired the subteam for mining substantiated the stand of Solidarity which demands the lifting of intermediate structures in mining. "This is a postulate aimed at liquidation of the so called coal lobby which is composed of people working outside the mines, on the ground, rather than miners themselves."

The subteam for ecology and the working group for reforming local self-government are likely to complete their work on March 4, it was announced at the conference.

Mining Subteam Members Differ on Work Hours

LD0403044289 Warsaw PAP in English
2019 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 3—The roundtable's subteam for mining held its 5th meeting here today under the co-chairmanship of Marian Gustek, Rajmund Moric, and Alojzy Pietryzk.

The coalition-government side has said that to show its determination to change the economic and financial system in coal industry, including the problem of work on days which are off by law, extraction will not be carried out by all Saturday night shifts starting June 1, 1989, and it confirmed once more its readiness to hold a wide consultation and intensive work in the years 1989-90 on designing a new economic-financial and managing system for the coal industry.

In reply, the opposition-Solidarity side said that these proposals are insufficient. It asked the coalition-government side to prepare a more concrete programme of introducing free Saturdays and to respond to the opposition-Solidarity side's proposals.

Marian Gustek protested against the statement by the opposition-Solidarity side to the effect that the hitherto economic and financial system, as well as the related system of work organisation, has gone bankrupt. The mining industry, he said, meets the extraction tasks planned for it, makes export supplies and meets the needs of the economy and nation.

There were no blackouts over the last 8 years and, owing to smooth coal extraction during this year rationing of this fuel has been lifted and there is no shortage of it now. The subteam discussed mainly the economic-financial system of mining with its organisational structures.

The OPZZ all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions wants market laws to govern the mining industry but is against closing down unprofitable collieries preferring improvement of their financial performance.

In connection with the emerging differences the subteam appointed a working group whose task is to write one document comprising the stands of all the sides on the question of working time, economic-financial system, and management structures in mining industry.

A separate working group will draft a joint position on the hygiene and safety of work in mining and present it to the next meeting. Another working group will deal with the problems of accidents at workplace, occupational diseases, disability and old-age pensions.

Session Results Viewed

LD0403045189 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 3—After today's debates of the roundtable working groups spokesman for the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions Franciszek Ciemny extended to PAP a statement which reads in part:

Refering to the debate of the sub-team for mining during which the statement was confirmed that a five-day working week should be the basis for constructing plans of coal mining, the OPZZ representatives, taking account of Poland's demand for power supply, are for entirely voluntary character of miners' work on Saturdays, Sundays and other days which are off by law.

We also came out for the change of the to-date structures of management through elimination of intermediate levels. Yet, concrete solutions should stem from the economic-financial system of mining industry.

The way of conducting talks, protracted discussion, introduction of ever new topics, endless replies, all that inspires concern as to whether in line with the miners' expectations the time will be constructively used. Cochairman of the sub-team Rajmund Moric made a statement to this effect in which he said that the way of presenting the matters discussed during the talks by the Solidarity-opposition side amounted to distribution of untruth and defaming of others, the statement said.

Disagreements Noted Among Media Subteam Members

LD0403220389 Warsaw PAP in English 2054 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 4—While assessing the third meeting of the roundtable subteam for mass media, Bogdan Jachacz, the co-chairman of the team, said at today's press conference that no progress had been reached in the team's work.

"Today, we have not moved forward, we have worked uneffectively and therefore, I have to say with regret, we have not responded to the appeal of General Czeslaw Kiszczak and Lech Walesa addressed to the participants in the roundtable debate to speed up the pace of work", Jachacz said. He went on to say that although the coalition-government side submitted the draft text concerning matters as to which there seemed to be consensus, the document was not subject of a matter-of-fact discussion.

Three working groups have been set-up which will deal with matters which arouse the greatest controversies, namely the changes in the system of radio and television, the amendment of press law and the law on censorship, and the status and future fates of underground publications.

Jachacz has stressed that the coalition-government side declares its readiness to remove all barriers which make the legalization of the underground press impossible while laying down one condition, namely the observance of the binding legal order. "Our stance is clear—we want to break monopoly in marketing, distribution and publishing (of press). We shall do everything possible to eliminate monopoly in distribution of paper. We are for the creation of free market for paper."

The cochairman of the team admitted also that in fact, as to the access to radio and television, the coalition-government side keeps firm to its stance and motivated this statement by saying that the principle of integrity of radio and television will better serve this country than giving away individual programmes to separate social groups.

Roundtable Subteam for Science, Education Meets

LD0403044489 Warsaw PAP in English 2041 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 3—Jacek Fisiak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Jan Zaciura presided over today's debate on the roundtable subteam for science, education and technological progress.

The team continued to discuss the situation in institutions of higher learning and conditions of improvement in this area. Jan Klamut pointed to a disquieting phenomenon of too small a number of students from rural areas which, as he put it, perpetuates existing social structures in spite of obvious needs.

Chairman of the Main Council for Science and Higher Education Klemens Bialecki informed the participants of the council's position on questions concerning education and development of scientific research staff.

Czeslaw Krolikowski presented a draft document concerning higher education. The discussants attached much attention to the law on higher education. According to Janusz Grzelak, should the proposed changes be taken into account, one could just amend the legal acts of 1985 without having to return to the 1982 law on higher education. The debaters said it will still take some time to arrive at the final version of the draft in question.

The debate on the development of Polish science focused on such fundamental questions as the scope of state control over education, ways of management of scientific institutions, cooperation of scientific departments, first of all the Polish Academy of Sciences and the National Education Ministry, as well as the volume and distribution of outlays for research. The minutes of the meeting of a working group dealing with these issues showed a far reaching convergence of views. Details still have to be discussed.

Ecology Subteam Members Draft Proposals

LD0403035489 Warsaw PAP in English
2017 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 3—The roundtable subteam convened for its sixth meeting here today under the chairmanship of Jerzy Kolodziejski and Stefan Kozlowski.

The team drafted joint arrangements concerning such issues as introduction and consistent realization of the principle of ecodevelopment and ecopolicy as guidelines for this country's further social and economic development. The debaters proposed among other things to work out a new model of management of forests, aimed at maintaining ecological balance.

Much time was devoted to the role and structure of state-financed organs pursuing environmental activity, the state inspectorate for environmental protection for one. The discussants determined it was necessary to strengthen the authority of this body, among other things through supplementing the law on environmental protection with respective provisions as to the scope of its activity. They also said the inspectorate should supervise the observance of all regulations pertaining to environmental protection.

Urban Answers Questions at 21 Feb News Briefing

AU2702125089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
21 Feb 89 pp 1, 6, 9

[Transcript of news conference by government Spokesman Jerzy Urban at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 21 Februay]

[Text] Government spokesman Jerzy Urban held another news conference for Polish and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Center in Warsaw on 21 February. Here is the transcript:

Jerzy Urban: Society is becoming impatient. People are saying that the "roundtable" is dragging on and people are talking a lot, but there is still no sign of any solution to problems of the greatest importance, such as the standard of living in Poland.

I must explain that one should not expect the "roundtable" to improve the economic situation directly. Before the "roundtable" started, the government fulfilled the wish of the party and its allied parties and initiated a fundamental change to legal-economic management conditions. In this way, we also created the economic basis for profound political reforms and the freedom for sensible activity by enterprises. Now, the enterprises have to take advantage of their new possibilities. A better standard of living can only be created in the factories, not at the "roundtable." However, the strikes and wage demands show that emotions are concentrated on the distribution of resources, including resources that have not even been achieved by means of work yet. Improving the distribution of material resources will not improve the standard of living. The mechanisms of the reform must lead to more higher-quality goods being available for distribution. It is premature to concentrate on distribution, and such a concentration reduces the chances of success. Apart from that, those in the worst material situation, including pensioners, are always left behind when there are wage disputes. The government is trying to increase their standard of living, but in wage races like these it is always those in the worst situation who suffer.

I do not agree with the view that not enough progress has been achieved at the "roundtable." The "roundtable" has reached a consensus on the outline of an accord whereby subsequent elections will be more democratic than previous ones, but also devoid of confrontation. The principles of a rapid introduction of trade union pluralism and the formation of "Solidarity" have also been agreed. There has been a consensus about a preliminary phase of broad political pluralism.

It transpires that there is no major discord between the authorities and the opposition as to the fact that we are aiming at a full representative democracy based on a parliament that reflects the structure of forces, on freely-elected people's councils, and on activity by political structures of various orientations in a way that is legal and respects the law. The basis for life is to be provided by the law, headed by the Constitution and civil and human rights.

Such a fundamental change to socialism in Poland takes time. It calls for gradual changes. All the participants in the "roundtable" also agree about that. However, the opposition wants these changes to be as quick and radical as possible. Right now, the government coalition bears real responsibility for the Polish state, and therefore it must insist on a careful measuring of steps at the "roundtable." We oppose galloping toward the unknown, not because we are afraid of the future, but because we want to defend our share of power bit by bit. We want to protect Poland and Poles against chaos and conflicts. We want to gradually try out and implement various aspects of pluralism and democracy before we go any further along this road. We are not being conservative. We simply want Poland's journey to democracy to be as least costly as possible. However, we agree with the opposition that the forms of public life and of exercising authority so far are out of date. We have already said A, now we are saying B, and soon we will say C.

It would be wrong to think that the authorities are a conservative element and the opposition a radical element at the "roundtable." Our partners are more careful not to upset any part of society, whereas the authorities are guarding the mechanisms that are slowly but surely causing a change in relations. One can say that, right now, the opposition is practicing propaganda, whereas we are practicing politics.

We think the talks should not last too long, and that a basic political arrangement should be adopted as quickly as possible. Numerous detailed matters that are now being discussed should continue to be discussed and solved after the "roundtable."

Only 3 percent of the population think that none of the parties to the "roundtable" are aiming at an accord. Some 56 percent believe that all parties share an equal desire for an accord, 14 percent say that the authorities want it more than the opposition, and 15 percent say that the opposition wants it more than the authorities.

Most people are in favor of an emergence of "Solidarity," although the number of those who would like to belong to it has fallen from 32 to 29 percent. Most are in favor of a legalized "Solidarity" fulfilling the conditions which the authorities are due to present at the "roundtable" as essential conditions which must be fulfilled if the organization is to become legal. Some 90 percent of adult Poles say that "Solidarity" should encourage productivity; 72 percent say that it must conform closely to the Constitution; 58 percent say that it must not organize or support illegal strikes and demonstrations. Some 28 percent say the opposite of this. These are the results of an opinion poll in February. It shows that most people are in favor of legalism, gradual change, and pluralism; and against radicalism and confrontation. Most people are in favor of fluid, calm changes.

Western and Eastern observers of the Polish processes think the same.

I hope that an agreement concerning political changes will soon emerge in the form of a package, as a consequence of which the "Solidarity" trade union will begin to act legally, a legal political opposition that presently has the form of associations will take shape, and the electorate itself will elect candidates for the position of deputy in a Sejm whose political structure will be based on a political agreement reached before the election.

The changes in Poland are being undermined by the strikes, strike threats, and harsh wage demands in many work places. The "roundtable" economic team is seeking ways of appeasing these wage demands. Many of the strikes and demands are organized or approved by trade unions, even trade union federations. Although the wave of strikes is subsiding, other forms of wage pressure are increasing. These phenomena are threatening the economic rules that have been adopted for this year. They are causing wages to rise faster than planned, as a result of which enterprises will have less funds for wage increases in the second half of the year, and conflicts may flare up again. Wage pressure may make it impossible for the government to ease inflation and keep prices under control. It may also encourage work forces to use reform mechanisms, not in order to improve management and increase production, but in order to alter the distribution of resources.

The entire reform process may be upset by the unfavorable economic phenomena. The passion of demands may weaken the "roundtable's" impact on the economy, and an eventual wave of strikes may make the situation in Poland become dramatic. We are in danger of an increase in economic difficulties; even an economic collapse.

People say that prices should not be increased while the "roundtable" is in progress, because this irritates society and reduces people's optimism. However, if all the price increases that are planned for this year are postponed until next year, the shops will become even emptier, because wages are increasing all the time, and people are buying more goods. Apart from that, if the price increases are postponed until after the "roundtable," people will think that the only result of this "roundtable" is an acute increase in prices. Therefore, an artificial moratorium on unpleasant economic decisions is not the right answer at all.

The government is not going to modify its policy of intensive reforms and its policy of observing the economic rules of the game. Bowing to demands or starting all over again by means of petty discussions about the shape of the reform would deprive Poland of all hopes of economic success. The government has no intention of submitting to pressure for the purpose of resolving discrepancies and delaying economic processes. We must succeed in dragging the economy out of the situation it is in, otherwise even the political reforms will be left suspended in a vacuum.

Finally, I wish to explain why it is that members of the opposition are formulating harsh demands and criticism on television and in the radio and press, whereas those "roundtable" participants represented by the party and government are displaying restraint and moderation and talking about general objectives. The opposition is waging a propaganda campaign in order to win supporters and show its sympathizers that, despite its scheming with the authorities, it is still an opposition. We understand these motives. However, we ourselves have a different purpose when we appear in the media. By means of what we say and the tone in which we say it, we underline our aim to reach an accord. Therefore, we avoid counteraccusations and polemics. In any case, society knows that the authorities are the initiators of the real reform and the creators of a real reform program. The opposition is loudly presenting former party and government postulates as its own, even postulates that have already been fulfilled. At other times, the opposition makes demands that are quite impossible. For example, if some of our partners keep appearing on television and demanding access to television, every Pole must realize that they are demanding something that they already have.

Finally, it should be noted that sometimes there are major differences between the views of members of the ruling coalition taking part in the "roundtable" and those of the trade union representatives. The non-opposition half of the "roundtable" is pluralistic; whereas the opposition half is exactly the opposite—monolithic and disciplined. This is a sign that the eventual political pluralism is going to be very complicated. The division into authorities on the one hand and opposition on the other is losing its meaning before our very eyes.

Apart from that, I would like to polemize with some of the assessments carried by REUTER, as well as UPI. Referring to Janusz Onyszkiewicz, REUTER said that according to "Solidarity" sources, the leadership of this union is ready to accept the constraints posed by semi-democratic elections as the price to be paid for legalization. UPI said that "Solidarity's" yes to the government proposals concerning confrontation-free elections is the price that "Solidarity" had to pay for its future legalization, and so on.

I wish to comment on these views. The envisaged considerable opposition presence in the Sejm is a major development in relation to past decades. It also signifies a division of the highest authority in Poland, the legislature. Therefore I do not think it is appropriate to say that admitting the opposition to the Sejm is a favor, something that is undesirable but which the opposition is compelled to do. If the opposition wants to have a major influence over the development of the country and every sphere of life, Sejm participation is the only guarantee of this influence. In a word, it seems that Sejm participation lies in the opposition's interests. It is not the price the opposition has to pay in order to function legally. It is quite simply the favorable outcome of the opposition's future legality.

Renate Marsch, DPA: You say the opposition is propaganda-orientated. In that case, what have you to say about the OPZZ? Is the OPZZ not performing propaganda as well?

Urban: I think that in relation to the government, the OPZZ is extremely opposition-minded. This applies to topics such as the rules of the economic game; in fact, the entire economic reform. There are also major differences in views on the subject of some political topics.

Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA: Is it possible to determine which retail price increases depend on government decisions, and which on independent producers and the free market?

Urban: Of the 20 percent increase in prices this year, two-fifths is an increase in official prices, and three-fifths is an increase in contractual prices. In other words, out of this 20 percent increase, 8 percent consists of an increase in official prices. If prices increase more than planned, contractual official prices will increase more than the other prices. Contractual prices are the prices that are determined by the economic mechanisms of enterprises. The state is trying to keep these prices under control by various means. As far as contractual prices are concerned, the plan is merely a forecast. If wage demands exceed the limits of the wage increase permitted by the economic rules of the game this year, it will be necessary to think about keeping the market under control by raising prices as well, including official ones. But I hope it will not come to that. There is something seasonal about the current wage pressure. In December, wages rose by 37 percent compared to November. I mean 1988. This was because of Christmas bonuses. After such a fat December, there was a lean January and February. The wage increases subsided, and this caused short-term effects. Prices have increased considerably in January for many years, followed by wage increases as compensation. Because the prices increases last January were moderate, the wage increases were also moderate compared to previous years. This caused seasonal disappointment, as it were.

Jahs Pagi, DIE PRESSE, Austria: Could you comment on the latest debate in the columns of the Polish press on the subject of Katyn? What is the situation with the Katyn memorial in the so-called Katyn Valley in one of Warsaw's cemeteries?

Urban: The most important press event was the publication in ODRODZENIE [REBIRTH] of a document by a Polish Red Cross representative who was in Katyn during the German occupation and took part in the investigations. A second interesting article, although less of a documentary, was one by General Pioro in POLITYKA. The ODRODZENIE item, to which an introduction was provided by Professor Maciszewski, chairman of the group of Polish historians who are investigating the blank spots, was conveyed to the Soviet Union earlier. I mean, the document was conveyed to the Soviet Union earlier. This is one of the documents whose publication I have been asked about, and now it has been published. I know that Moscow Radio has described this document as serious evidence, requiring serious and painstaking investigations, that the Katyn atrocity was the work of Soviet security forces during the Stalinist era, not the Hitlerite occupants. However, we expect this matter to be resolved by both sides and on the basis of more comprehensive documentation. I know there are plans to change the inscription on the monument and to move it somewhere else.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: Now that the government is openly speaking out in favor of pluralism and conducting dialogue with the opposition, would you care to publicly air the government's views on the way in which the opposition is treated in Czechoslovakia? I have in mind the trial of such opposition members as Vaclav Havel, the same kind of people as those you are talking to today.

Urban: We have always asked other countries, especially the United States, not to interfere in our domestic affairs, and we also have no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of either our friends, or countries that are geographically and politically more remote from us.

Pawel Dybycz, SZTANDAR MLODYCH: Could you give an approximate date for the Sejm election?

Urban: No. This subject is yet to be discussed by the "roundtable," and as soon as talks on the subject of the election rules have begun, the relevant state authorities, acting in accordance with the legal procedure applicable here, will be able to give a date. All I can say is that we would like this election to take place sooner than would normally be the case.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau: Does the government treat its suggestion concerning the office of president, a president with huge authority, as part of the package of proposed political changes, or might this proposal be considered separately, separately from the Sejm election? Is it possible that the "roundtable" will end with an accord on the subject of new Sejm election rules, but without an accord on the subject of president?

Urban: Everything is possible. Although this subject is an integral part of the entire political structure of the transitional period, the subject of whether or not there should be a president, and who this president should be, is open to discussion. Just like every state office, the office of president is not something that is treated separately from other elements of authority. It must be treated as an integral part of this authority. In a nutshell, it is only the SD that possesses a firm stance on the subject of president. We have presented this subject only as a possibility, as one of the ways of guaranteeing political continuity. Therefore, our stance on the subject of president is flexible.

Henryk Sroczynski, GLOS ROBOTNICZY: In the Sejm, the government announced sales of state treasury bonds. Could you tell us more?

Urban: This year's draft budget calls for an extra budgetary income of Z40 billion, earned by means of state treasury bonds.

From an economic point of view, a bond is a way of safeguarding loans. Bonds could be purchased by enterprises that enjoy a financial surplus.

In order to make enterprises who have other possibilities of investing their surplus income, for example in bank savings accounts, interested in buying bonds, we propose that when enterprises do buy them, they will also be able to acquire part of the capital funds with which they were set up.

These bonds would be repurchased by the state treasury after a certain period, let us say 3 years, starting from 1990. Bonds would earn interest equal to the rate of dividend in a given year. An enterprise would be able to reclaim a part of the sum owed by the treasury by deducting it from the capital fund.

Zbigniew Satala, GAZETA KRAKOWSKA: One can tell that the government's pro-reform activity has slowed down considerably. Despite what you have said, has this proreform activity been suspended for the duration of the "roundtable"?

Urban: Definitely not. The government's proreform activity has not been suspended. What has happened is that society witnessed very spectacular legal changes at the beginning of the year. The latest legal changes are not so spectacular; they are merely a continuation or confirmation of the previous developments. As a result, society gets the impression that the reform has lost its impetus. In fact, it has not lost its impetus. There are not going to be new pieces of legislation all the time, that is all. The reform will take advantage of the new legal conditions that permit a reformed economic activity. Neither do we have any intention of slowing down the proreform activity just because of the "roundtable." We attach great importance to every single remark made at the "roundtable." They are studied and analyzed from the point of view of their economic usefulness. If we constantly interrupted the reform under any pretext, we would achieve no progress whatsoever. That does not mean that the government considers all its plans ideal. We are open to suggestions, but not to interruptions of the economic reform process, because society would never forgive us for that. We would be wasting time, which has become so valuable. Many solutions are already extremely delayed in any case.

Krzysztof Leski [affiliation not given]: In connection with the previous question, allow me to repeat a question which I addressed to Mr Rykowski but received no reply, or only an evasive one. Three weeks ago, the government presented before the Sejm two laws on taxation; or, to be more exact, one new law and one amendment to an old one. However, it was discovered that both these pieces of legislation clash with the economic activity act that was adopted barely 1 month ago. Is there anything you can say to that? The economic activity act provides that maximum income tax will be 30 percent, regardless of the type of economic body involved; and yet the income tax act still permits a maximum rate of tax of 85 percent on individuals.

Urban: No, neither I nor my deputy are able to explain this. But we will consult each other and give you an answer later.

John Daniszewski, AP: Could you tell us what the strike situation is like, in other words how many enterprises are affected by strikes right now? Has the government heard anything about the fact that some of these strikes were caused by party members or even OPZZ members who wanted to stop the "roundtable"?

Urban: Let me answer the second part of the question first. I can confirm that strike committees consist of people with various loyalties. They consist of party members, though not many of them; nonparty members; and trade unionists. Some strikes are even sponsored or supported by trade unions. There are also strikes that are supported by nonlegalized "Solidarity" factory structures or whose strike committees consist of people representing themselves as "Solidarity" representatives, although such strikes are rare. Sometimes, as was the case in Piotrkow Trybunalski, power inside a strike committee is transferred from one group to another. In this respect, life is varied. However, our chief worry is the attitude of some trade unions.

On 20 February, strike action at the transportation enterprise in Kutno, the "Transbud" construction equipment plant in Plock, and at the urban transportation enterprise in Stanachowice ended. Yesterday, there were still strikes at the voivodship urban transportation enterprise in Sieradz; the communal water works in Zary; at state bus company depots in Turek and Konin, and at the "Walter" cotton clothes plant in Zglerz, near Lodz. Yesterday, new strikes in 14 enterprises were noted. What is remarkable is that all these strikes are confined to small enterprises, sometimes just to departments of enterprises, and usually involve small groups of people. In addition to all this, threats of strike action have occurred in 17 enterprises, again small ones. About 800 wage disputes altogether were noted between 1 and 20 February. Of these, 50 were strikes or unannounced work stoppages. Some 50,000 people joined these strikes. This proves that the unrest involved mainly small enterprises or small groups of people.

Evelia Maitret, Mexican TV: May I ask for a comment on the attitude of the church and on the church's role in the "roundtable," a church that was regarded for many years as one of the three leading social forces in the country? Second, is there any news about the deaths of Fathers Niedzielak and Suchowolec?

Urban: As we know, the church played a major role in bringing about the "roundtable" in the first place. During the "roundtable" itself, the church assumed the status of observer. There is no doubt that the church's general conflict-easing attitude is having a positive effect on this major political experiment, and that the church has rendered a great service by helping to turn the "roundtable" into reality. For this, we are deeply grateful to it.

I have no news about Father Niedzielak. However, as far as the tragic case of Father Suchodolec of Bialystok is concerned, there is nothing left unexplained. I do not know whether the investigations there have been completed or not, but there is no evidence that suggests foul play. The only piece of news about this case is a law suit filed by the prosecutor against UPI and its reporter because they slandered me in their reports on the subject of this case.

Marcin Gugulski, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau: Why did the media fail to show or report on that part of the "roundtable" inaugural session where Sila-Nowicki spoke? Are the reasons why they did not do so still valid? As far as I know, the reasons were not technical, because a recording exists. Second, I have read that the authorities perceive the need for all, I repeat all, political and social forces in Poland to have far greater access to radio and television than they have had so far. What does it mean, all of them? Does it also include those who will not be included in the pre-Sejm election agreement you mentioned earlier?

Urban: The failure to transmit Sila-Nowicki's speech was not caused by technical reasons. What happened was that the "roundtable" participants agreed that only a certain number of speeches would be broadcast, and that is how television planned its coverage. Sila-Nowicki's speech was reported in the press the following day. It should be obvious to every journalist that no television station, no radio station, and no newspaper covers everything.

Should only those forces present at the "roundtable" have access to the media, or should other forces as well? The "roundtable" participants do have access to television. However, I do not rule out such access by other forces who are opposed to the "roundtable." In the West, there are minority and extremist groups who air their views via the media, though of course the coverage accorded to them is less than that accorded to groups that are more highly representative, such as those taking part in elections.

There are various extremist groups in action today. I have in front of me a copy of a handout distributed at Warsaw University a few days ago, strongly attacking the opposition at the "roundtable." The handout says: "Any accord with the communists means consent to communist rule in Poland," and so on. I used to have a leaflet which suggested something more original, namely that the "roundtable" participants should swear to punish each other by death should anyone breach the final accords. Poland possesses a very rich political folklore. I personally prefer to show this folklore in its entirety on television, but this calls for planning.

Jahs Pagi, DIE PRESSE: I have heard that a new Christian-Democratic Party has emerged recently, and that it refers to the traditions of the Labor Party. As far as I know, this new party has not been harassed by the security forces yet, therefore I would like to know what the government thinks of it. After all, the situation today is different to what it was last year, when the socialist party was founded.

Urban: The Labor Party was founded by a body of people who are respectable and who have been active on the Polish political scene constructively for a long time. The government's attitude toward this idea is as follows. We believe that the idea of forming a political party is premature. It clashes with the concept of a gradual development of political pluralism in Poland. I think that the aims this group has set itself could be better implemented if the group assumes the form of an association, in accordance with the associations act. A law governing political parties will not be drafted until the future.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: The latest Main Statistical Office statistics show that livestock procurement has increased drastically in recent months, which means that farmers are getting rid of their pigs and cows en masse. This is happening several months after the government declaration concerning priority for agriculture. So what will the government do to encourage farmers to breed pigs and cows?

Urban: I am incapable of providing a fast interpretation of this phenomenon. I will tell you another time. I would not like to improvise an answer.

Renate Marsch, DPA: You said that Poland does not interfere in the domestic affairs of other states, but this is something that transcends all borders. What does Poland think of Khamene'i's call to kill Rushdie for his book "The Satanic Verses"?

Urban: Madam, I will gladly give you my private opinion later. However, a Polish government spokesman is not someone who interferes in every single event in the modern world. On behalf of the Polish Government, I have nothing to say on this subject, apart from the fact that we do not advocate the killing of authors of any books.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Press Bureau: Excuse me, but I find it surprising that you can only air your private views in private. The Western countries were planning to impose all kinds of sanctions against Iran yesterday. Do you think governments should keep quiet until someone actually kills Salman Rushdie?

Urban: If the Polish Government could do anything to help anyone in danger because of differences in views, it would do so. However, I do not think any declarations of mine could have any practical significance, and I have just said what we think of threats to authors of books, at least this kind of threat.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: The doubts surrounding the deaths of the two priests justify the view that they could be murders. Are the authorities doing anything to protect priests who hold views similar to those of the priests who died? Has the church made any requests to do so? On 8 February, the screws of a car belonging to the parish priest of Jastrzebie were loosened. Something similar happened before Father Suchowolec died.

Urban: There have been various rumors about events that preceded the death of Father Suchowolec. However, the authorities knew nothing about them. I do not know to what extent they are rumors and to what extent they are true, because the militia was never told about any occurrences that might have indicated that the priest was in danger. Therefore one can assume that these events, or rather information about these events, arose afterwards as a rumor. I wish to make it clear that the death of Father Niedzielak has still not been solved, and that there is nothing secret about the death of Father Suchowolec. If there are threats, the Catholic Church always asks the authorities to investigate, discover the perpetrators, and so on. However, the church does not ask for protection for priests because that would be simply impossible. In any case, priests are not the kind of people who are in general danger.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Is in not true that the investigations into the death of Father Suchowolec are being conducted by people who ought to be the subject of investigations themselves?

Urban: Please do not present such insinuations in public, because, as far as the death of Father Suchowolec is concerned, there is no justification for them.

Jahs Pagi, DIE PRESSE: I would like to get back to the subject of political parties. Has it been established when the political parties act will be drawn up? Second, the very example of the present Christian-Democratic Party shows that new parties are already appearing even without this act, and therefore I would like to ask once again for the government's view. Does the government consider these parties to be unlawful and does it interfere in their activity, or does the government tolerate this activity because, as Professor Letowska has said, this activity takes advantage of a loophole in the law?

Urban: The political parties act belongs to the future. Right now it is just an idea. We do not consider this an urgent matter. The concept of a gradual development of relations in Poland involves the shaping of political pluralism in the form of associations and clubs, whereby the point is to enable these organisms to settle down, establish themselves, and display some real political objective. This is because initially, many such organisms come to life and then die, or merge, or divide; while others develop into full fledged bodies and assume importance. Such a concept of a transitional period is quite simply for the benefit of public life and its harmonious development. We foresee that later on, higher forms of political life, including political parties, may emerge, and we will accord suitable priority to a law governing these matters. Just because various bodies describe themselves as parties does not mean that they are parties. The attitude of the law toward organizations like this depends on their activity.

Andrew Tarnowski, REUTER: I would like to return to the death of Father Suchowolec. Why is it that the fire brigade officer who arrived at the scene of the death was ordered to leave the room by the militia as soon as he started asking questions about the cause of the odd fire that occurred in the room, and why was that officer replaced by another officer, perhaps even a junior officer?

Urban: All I know is the fire brigade's report about the cause of the fire. However, I was not at the scene of these events, so I do not know who ordered whom to leave and who replaced whom. I have general information whereby there is no secret about this death, nothing to indicate that the death was caused by anything other than a tragic fire which broke out when a ventilator in an electric heater stopped rotating.

Krzysztof Leski, Lech Walesa's Press Office: We have heard about high wage increases for professional Polish Army cadres, exceeding Z50,000 a month on average. These are supposed to be paid in arrears as of January. Can you confirm?

Urban: The Army, as well as other spheres of life financed out of the state budget, has received wage increases. This is an accordance with the government's 7 February resolution on wages for professional soldiers. According to the amendment to this resolution, the maximum basic pay for the non-existent rank of marshal of Poland is Z111,000 a month, whereas the table of earnings according to rank gives the commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces Z130,000. Although it is not clear, I think these wages are made up of several elements. The basic wages for a major with 14 over years service are Z55,500. On top of that, he receives a bonus according to the post he occupies. For example, a major can be the commander of a battalion, in which case he would earn Z57,000 a month.

Miodowicz Interviewed on Roundtable Discussions

AU2802201089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Feb 89 p 6

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the OPZZ, by Dalibor Macha and Jerzy Golembiewski: "A Word With Alfred Miodowicz; On the Roundtable Discussions in Warsaw; PZPR Central Committee Politburo Member and Chairman of the OPZZ Answers Questions from RUDE PRAVO and the Newspaper TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA"—date, place not given]

[Text] Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the OPZZ, who recently visited Prague, answered questions put by a RUDE PRAVO reporter and a reporter from the Polish newspaper TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA concerning, in particular, the roundtable talks in Warsaw.

[Question] What kind of atmosphere now prevails at the roundtable? Do all the participating sides abide by the "rules of the game" during the talks?

[Miodowicz] For the first time we are sitting with the opposition at a roundtable, however, we are not holding discussions with it for the first time. Meanwhile, the dialogue is still accompanied by a certain nervousness and mutual mistrust, but at the same time the joint effort to solve our problems as quickly as possible is not lacking. As far as concerns the "principles of the game" every one of the participants is setting them. There are not only two partners sitting at the table, as it might seem to some people, but more, and now each one wants to defend his own arguments. I would even compare the present situation with some kind of auction of opinions.

[Question] When do the most pointed discussions arise?

[Miodowicz] For example, in questions concerning propaganda and the mass media. For he who holds the instruments of propaganda in his hand, figuratively speaking, acquires the right to approach people even in their own homes and to influence public opinion. But an even more important item on the agenda is the reinstatement of Solidarity. All of the discussions at the "table", economic, political, trade union, and others, always inevitably end with the question—when will Solidarity be reinstated?

[Question] Is it possible, then, to forecast a time when Solidarity will be officially reinstated?

[Miodowicz] I would not like to prophesize. Rather, it worries me personally that we want to solve everything at once from day to day. I am against rushing the reinstatement of Solidarity, for instance, only because we are planning earlier elections to the Sejm. At the same time, we respect the principles of trade union pluralism, which in our understanding reads: in factories such trade unions as the workers want must function. In short, let the people themselves determine which trade unions to belong to and not have some elite opposition decide for them.

[Question] How ought the "division of labor" between trade union organizations appear directly in factories?

[Miodowicz] We have unfortunate experiences from 1981 when Solidarity literally squeezed all other trade union organizations out of the factories. We cannot agree with such pluralism. Therefore we come up with the concept of joint councils, joint commissions, and joint agreements between the various trade union organizations. The issue is that for concrete questions and demands we also work out common points of view which would represent the interests of all employees. Let us then agree on a common demand and let us put it jointly to the director of the enterprise.

[Question] In what do the main aims of Solidarity differ from the aims of trade unions affiliated in OPZZ?

[Miodowicz] Solidarity has no trade union program. Hence, as far as program aims are concerned it is impossible to say in what we differ. However, we differ fundamentally in one thing. The OPZZ is a trade union federation whereas Solidarity, today we can say it openly, has become first and foremost a social movement and its trade union character is receding farther back—even though it proclaims itself as a trade union organization.

[Question] Can you characterize the position which the OPZZ holds at the roundtable in the question of maintaining the standard of living of the workers?

[Miodowicz] We enforce the opinion that the further reduction in the standard of living of the workers according to methods of a temporary "tightening of the belt" has never proved itself in Poland. In 1982 we tightened our belts by several holes, the standard of living fell by 20-30 percent, and today—after 7 years—we are in the same situation.... Real wages last year in comparison with 1979 were 20 percent lower. Have we once again to go along the road of self-denial? I am convinced that such a road does not lead anywhere. We will not save the national economy by increasing prices and by freezing wages. In our opinion the correct direction leads via the rational use of the work force, keeping prices "in check", and maximum wage stimulation for the high productivity of labor.

[Question] Poland displays excessive employment in industry. Some experts judge that it employs up to 2 million people superfluously and that these people ought to go elsewhere. Would not such a step only cause partial unemployment?

[Miodowicz] Poland is not threatened by unemployment, we have a huge number of vacant places in services, retailing, and so on, where people would be more useful. Human labor is indeed wasted in Poland because it is our cheapest "good." We are still afraid to pay well for good work.

[Question] If Solidarity were to be legalized, are you not afraid that part of your membership would go over to its side?

[Miodowicz] Of course, we must frankly admit that if it so happens, some will go over to other trade unions but others will again come over to us. This is normal, for a new situation will arise. Therefore, I am certain that our trade unions will not be weakened. Today we have 7 million members and we count enough to influence events in our country.

[Question] Is Solidarity willing to take part of the responsibility for events in Poland or does it intend only to adopt the position of critic?

[Miodowicz] I personally think that Solidarity is only declaring an interest in taking part of the responsibility meantime. The question arises what measure of responsibility would it be willing to take on its own shoulders and at what price. These are questions for which there is no answer at the moment.

[Question] Do you have any quick recipe so that Poland does not become a country where there are always strikes?

[Miodowicz] I would say this: the condition is frank, wise, democratic, strong, and credible leadership in the country.

[Question] Why did you vote against the statement on political and trade union pluralism at the 10th session of the PZPR Central Committee in January?

[Miodowicz] For a simple reason. The abovementioned document concerned the principles of the social system. Personally, I am of the opinion that the Central Committee meeting was not competent to formulate such a statement. In my view it ought to have been preceded by broad consultations with party members and with the trade unions, it ought to have been discussed at a nationwide party conference, and only then the Central Committee meeting ought to decide. We ought not to have hurried so much. But it happened, the statement is valid.

[Question] Will the opposition become a permanent part of the Polish political system?

[Miodowicz] I do not know, I rather think that in future years some kind of unrest, mutual "tug-of-war," and searching of ways out of the crisis will become a permanent element of our life. I am certain that at last in several years we will eventually arrive at some firm model.

[Question] Is 6 weeks enough for the roundtable to reach an agreement of principle?

[Miodowicz] I do not know where the often mentioned length of six weeks came from. Such important matters ought to be discussed as long as is necessary. Meanwhile, the OPZZ is not bound by any term.

[Interviewers] Thank you for the interview.

Miodowicz Queried at 24 Feb News Conference

AU0203143389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25-26 Feb 89 p 4

[Report by Tadeusz Strumpf: "News Conference by the OPZZ Chairman"]

[Text] At a news conference on 24 February, OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz replied to many questions from Polish and foreign journalists.

Asked whether "the OPZZ's organization of some of the strikes is a sign of the OPZZ's struggle for a place for itself in the new political setup and a reminder to the government that the OPZZ still exists," Alfred Miodowicz replied: "The OPZZ has never organized any strikes. It does not even have such a possibility, because individual trade unions are self-managing and independent. We are the only organization in which there is no democratic centralism. Without this centralism, what possible influence can we have on the actions of trade unions in factories? Yes, we do have influence over general strikes and mass turnouts in support of something, but we have never used this weapon yet because we have always thought it unnecessary and damaging to our society and economy. That is why we keep calling for peace. But can there be unrest? Of course there can, because no one can guarantee calm in a country that is beset with tension caused by a low standard of living and an inefficient functioning of the economy. I wish to make it clear that the trade unions are not behind the strikes."

Another question was: "People think you should leave the Politburo. Are you considering such a possibility?" To this, Miodowicz replied: "I personally view Politburo membership as a great distinction. However, as head of the trade unions, Politburo membership is good for a few reasons. One of them is that we have access to key information, in other words we can keep ahead of others in our activity. We can also take part in discussions on the subject of preliminary ideas. From the point of view of a certain 'cleanliness of affairs,' I admit that my Politburo membership is a little troublesome, and when we draft the future OPZZ Statute, I will see to it that the Statute prevents anyone from holding an OPZZ leadership post and a leadership post in the state administration or in a political party at the same time."

Asked what he thought of Jerzy Urban's description of the OPZZ as an extremely radical opposition toward the government, A. Miodowicz said: "At its meeting the day before yesterday, the OPZZ Executive Committee decided to send two journalists from the OPZZ's information section to Urban's conferences every week. Our first awkward question to Jerzy Urban will be why he said what he did. It was completely the opposite to what the premier says. We are not part of the 'government side' at the 'roundtable.' We are an independent force. Yes, we do respect the government and we do support its goals, but we hold a completely different approach toward the solving of some economic problems. Apart from that, by their very nature, the trade unions are always 'at the point of ignition' with the government."

Olechowski Prepares for Ministerial Meeting

Makes Statement on CSCE Talks

LD0503181789 Warsaw PAP in English 1557 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 5—Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski has made the following statement for the POLISH PRESS AGENCY:

Foreign ministers from 35 states taking part in the CSCE are meeting in Vienna on Monday at the invitation from Austrian Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

The meeting precedes a formal start of two negotiations: on conventional armed forces in Europe to be held by 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and on confidence-building measures and security to be held by 35 CSCE states.

The presence of ministers testifies to the unprecedented character and high rank of these talks which concern the most vital interests of security on our continent. They will certainly attract the attention of the public in the coming years. I think that this ministerial Vienna summit will provide the negotiations with a strong impulse and will not let them drown in technical disputes.

I am going to Vienna to present the Polish point of view on disarmament and security.

We are interested in a quick arrival at agreements which would considerably decrease the level of conventional armaments, would contribute to diminishing the threat of a sudden attack and strengthen mutual confidence. While covering the whole of Europe, the process of reductions should acquire a clear dimension especially with regard to Central Europe. Poland from the start is ready to submit its forces to such negotiated mutual reductions.

Our intentions have been confirmed by unilateral decisions to cut the manpower and arms potential of Polish Armed Forces.

We want to be an active participant in Vienna talks. With their start we link the opening of the stage of negotiating elements of the Jaruzelski Plan.

Arrives in Vienna

LD0503213489 Warsaw PAP in English 1900 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, Mar 5—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski arrived here today.

Starting Monday he will participate in the "Vienna Meeting of Foreign Ministers 1989" organized by the Austrian Government to stress the importance of and give momentum to the conference of 35 states on Security and Confidence-Building Measures in Europe and the negotiations of 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe.

Olechowski is expected to address the meeting on Tuesday.

Today Olechowski met with the new U.S. secretary of state, James Baker, for over 45 minutes. The Polish foreign minister is also to meet with FRG's Foreign Minister Genscher, Austria's Mock and Spain's Fernandez-Ordonez.

Meets With James Baker

LD0503234589 Warsaw PAP in English 2134 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Vienna, Mar 5—Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski who had arrived in Vienna for a meeting of foreign ministers from 35 CSCE countries, held a talk with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker here today.

The talk focussed mainly on bilateral relations. Olechowski and Baker assessed the process of their normalization and deemed it necessary to invigorate cooperation in various fields and particularly in economy.

James Baker showed a well-disposed interest in the course of the roundtable talks and reforms under way in Poland and stressed their broad international dimension. He pointed to vivid interest in Poland displayed by President george Bush since his visit to this country in 1987.

Both sides deemed it purposeful to further develop dialogue, contacts and cooperation. Jozef Czyrek's visit to the United States later this month will provide another occasion for the in depth exchange of views.

Siwicki Interviewed on Military Force Reductions

AU0103190589 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 27 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defense, by an unidentified television reporter on Warsaw Television on 26 February: "We Intend That the Changes to our Army Comply With the Requirements of the Real Situation"]

[Text] Immediately after the main newscast on 26 February, Polish Television broadcast on its first program an interview with Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of National Defense. Here is a record [zapis] of this interview:

Journalist: General, in an interview for PAP at the beginning of January, you described an extensive program of changes in the Polish Army stemming from the implementation of the defense doctrine and from the aim to reduce defense expenditures considerably. That is why, taking advantage of the promise you made about fuller and more frequent information to society about the life of the Army, we have invited you to appear before the television cameras. Please, could you tell our viewers about the foreseen paths of changes to the structure of our Armed Forces?

General: As is generally known, the Armed Forces are an organization set up to perform strictly defined tasks connected with safeguarding the state's security. By and large, their structure always has, always does, and always will depend on the degree of threat to the state and on its defense needs on the one hand, and on the country's economic possibilities and the provisions of the military doctrine in force on the other hand.

These factors have meant and still mean that the Polish Army never has been and never will be a permanent organization. We have always tried to see to it that changes suit the requirements of the real situation, according to changing conditions.

Right now, taking into consideration the favorable developments in the international situation, especially in the sphere of danger to state security and the growth of peaceful trends in Europe, we have once again undertaken the process of restructuring our Armed Forces. I need not stress that Poland, just like the remaining Warsaw Pact countries, is keenly interested in perpetuating the peaceful trends. Publishing data on our Armed Forces and reducing the level of our military potential and expenditures, about which we have reported at length, is our specific contribution to the continuing disarmament dialogue, especially to the process of increasing the trust between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and North Atlantic Pact. This is also a practical confirmation of the proposals contained in the Jaruzelski Plan.

As I said in the January interview, the favorable international conditions and economic situation permit and inspire us to highlight our doctrinal defense principles. It is on this basis that the National Defense Committee reached its well-known decision on the defense problems and the Armed Forces that lies at the roots of the current intensive work inside Ministry of National Defense institutions. This work has resulted in a concrete plan of changes to the Armed Forces, the purpose of which can be expressed in the following blunt manner: to possess only as much as is really required, but at the same time to deploy it more effectively. In any case, that is a principle that has governed our actions for many years.

Journalist: One can conclude that the Polish Army is entering an intensive stage of restructuring. What will it generally bring? What concrete changes can we expect?

General: Before I answer, I would like to remind you that we are not reducing the size of the Army as of today. Over the past 2 years, we have reduced the Armed Forces by 15,000 soldiers and many hundreds of pieces of armaments and technical equipment. Thanks to this, and thanks to sharper austerity measures, we have been steadily reducing defense spending since 1987.

Returning to your question, right now we are commencing a complex and highly responsible 2-year stage of army reorganization.

Another two divisions will be disbanded [rozformowane]—the 2d and 15th Mechanized Divisions. The complement of the 10th and 16th Armored Divisions will be reduced considerably. Gradually, a new universal structure will be introduced to all divisions, whose organization and weaponry will suit the needs of modern defense tasks. We are also disbanding over a dozen regiments in all branches of the Armed Forces, including armored, artillery, and air force regiments.

At the same time, over 30 territorial defense, engineering-construction, and road-railroad units will be transformed into civil defense formations. Here I wish to explain that these new civil defense formations will perform production and service functions, including hospital services mainly for the sake of the national economy.

There will also be changes to the organization of military training. For example, we intend to merge the Polish Army General Staff Academy and the Military Political Academy into a national defense academy.

It is also intended to merge some higher officer training schools with similar training profiles. The same applies to warrant officer schools and specialist military training centers; the total number of schools and centers will be reduced by one-third.

Journalist: You have mentioned changes at lower levels, but what about the top? What about the army command and programming centers? Will they also be subject to such far-reaching changes?

General: It is difficult to imagine carrying out the transformations only as far as the city limits of Warsaw.

In the process of changing the army command system and adapting its bodies to the new structures and numerical status of the forces, central Ministry of National Defense institutions and operational commands will also be reduced. A clear example of this is the intention to combine the National Air Defense Forces with the Air Force.

However, restructuring is not just a mechanical reduction or elimination of certain bodies. Restructuring is also far-reaching changes to the systems and forms of commanding and leading armed forces. In particular, it involves computerization, and a major reduction in reporting, recordkeeping, and other bureaucratic customs of which an army is not free.

Journalist: All these changes are to take place within the next 2 years. Why now? May I ask for a schedule of implementing them?

General: Questions are very justified. When deciding to disband military units, we considered all the circumstances and their possible consequences. Please notice that a regiment is not just an assortment of weapons, military materiel, barracks, and other material assets. It is most of all people, especially a highly qualified professional staff. Therefore it takes time to relocate them, in order to make the best possible use of their professional qualities and resolve various family problems brought about by changes to one's place of service or nature of service. In this way, we are also permitting a harmonious use of technology both in the Army and in the national economy, and the best possible use of vacated premises.

As far as a schedule of activity is concerned, two armored regiments, the Operational-Tactical Missile Brigade, a road vehicle training regiment, and several other units will be disbanded in the nearest future, on 3 and 4 March. We are inviting representatives of the mass media and military attaches accredited in Poland to convince themselves of the credibility of our actions on the spot.

Journalist: What effects will the reorganization of the Army have during the next 2 years?

General: During that time, our Armed Forces will be reduced by 40,000 soldiers. About 850 tanks, 900 cannons and mortars, 700 armored transporters, 80 combat aircraft, and many different varieties of military materiel will be withdrawn.

Journalist: In other words, a considerable quantity of military materiel. What are the possibilities of using it in the national economy, or, to put it more broadly, outside the Armed Forces?

General: We will employ one principle only: nothing must be wasted. Some of the materiel of the disbanded and reorganized units will be given to other units and sub-units. Most of the materiel that is the most worn out will be broken up and, after usable parts have been salvaged, handed over to metal works. The national economy will receive a considerable proportion. One can imagine many possibilities. We are examining them, and I think our military and civilian experts will find the best solutions for the national economy. This applies to the most specialized equipment. However, there is no problem as far as various types of vehicles and mobile workshops are concerned. These will be made available mainly to farmers by means of restricted auctions.

As a matter of interest, I can tell you that last year, several dozen older-generation vehicles were sold to countries in the second area of payments for civilian purposes, after their armor had been removed. In this way, the Army strengthened the state budget with convertible currency.

Journalist: The changes in the Armed Forces also present the possibility of putting the vacant industrial potential to good use. What are these possibilities?

General: I would like to remind you once again that the Polish defense industry is not in the hands of the minister of national defense, but in the hands of the minister of industry. All I can say is that we are cutting down on orders for military materiel, which will indeed enable some of the potential of defense industry plants to be used to manufacture commodities for the needs of the market and national economy.

The defense industry has good, I would even say excellent, technical staff. Naturally, it also possesses many modern technologies and is marked by an exemplary scientific discipline. In a word, it personifies high quality production.

I think these factors permit a proper use of vacant production potential for the sake of the national economy and to improve market supplies. However, this is not straightforward. It will require time-consuming scientific and organizational operations. All in all, this will be an operation that well serves the needs of our economy.

Journalist: After so much tragic experience, we Poles are very sensitive to our security. That is why such a far-reaching reorganization of our Army—in fact, a major reduction in its size—is also giving rise to questions of a more fundamental nature. Will the activity presented by you not cause an excessive weakening of the country's defenses?

General: Such fears may arise. We know well that although the danger to peace is diminishing, it still exists. I said in the beginning that defense potential depends on the actual and envisaged international situation. We bear this in mind when making any decisions to make structural changes in our Armed Forces. Therefore we will maintain our Armed Forces at the numerical level that is really necessary in order to guarantee Poland's security within the framework of the Warsaw Pact allied defense system, and we will guarantee our Armed Forces the necessary equipment. Apart from that, less need not mean worse or weaker. Today and tomorrow, in service and in combat readiness, less means more effectively and more economically.

Motorized Training Regiment Begins Disbanding

LD0303183189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] In accordance with a televised announcement made by General Florian Siwicki, the disbanding of the 1st Motorized Training Regiment began today in Olesnica.

Two Tank Regiments Dissolved, Ceremonies Held

LD0403171289 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Warsaw, Mar 4—Following last week's television announcement by Poland's minister of national defence, General Florian Siwicki, two armoured regiments: the 13th Warsaw Regiment of medium-size tanks in Opole and the 60th Kartuzy Regiment of medium-size tanks in Elblag were dissolved today. Military attaches accredited to Poland attended the ceremonies.

Most of the soldiers serving their mandatory military service in these regiments were earlier put on the reserve list.

Leaders Public Appearances for 15-21 Feb

AU2802203889

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 16 through 22 February reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date, page of each report given in parentheses):

Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Stanislaw Ciosek received the leadership of the PPR Association of Journalists, on 17 February. (18-19 Feb 89 p 2)

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the PPR State Council, received Zbigniew Szalajda, who was recently appointed PPR deputy permanent representative to CEMA, on 21 February. (22 Feb 89 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended birthday celebrations for Polish economist Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski at the Polish Economic Society. (17 Feb 89 p 2)

Stanislaw Ciosek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received V. Manno, ambassador of Italy, on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 16 February he met censorship office officials in Warsaw. (17 Feb p 2) On 20 February he met journalist and editors working for the student press in Warsaw. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, PZPR Politburo member, chaired a meeting of the presidium of the PZPR Central Control and Auditing Commission held on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 20 February he attended a PZPR voivodship accountability conference in Przemysl. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received J. Spielmann, general secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, on 16 February. (17 Feb 89 p2) On 19 February he attended a PZPR voivodship accountability conference in Tarnow. (20 Feb 89 p 2) On 20 February he met PPR ambassadors accredited to European socialist countries. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, PZPR Politburo member, attended an accountability conference of the Bielsko-Biala city PZPR organization in Bielsko-Biala on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 17 February she met teachers and other members of the local intelligentsia in Koszalin. (18-19 Feb 89 p 2)

Zbigniew Michalek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met young farmers in Jelenia Gora. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and chairman of the OPZZ, attended a PZPR plant organization accountability conference at the Lenin Steelworks in Nowa Huta on 17 February. (18-19 Feb 89 pp 1, 2)

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received J. Spielmann, general secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) He attended a seminar for first secretaries of college PZPR organizations held in Warsaw on 15 and 16 February. (17 Feb 89 p 2) On 18 February he attended a PZPR voivodship accountability conference in Walbrzych. (20 Feb 89 p 2)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR Politburo member, attended a Union of Socialist Polish Youth accountability and election conference held in Poznan. (20 Feb 89 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended a Union of Socialist Polish Youth held in Katowice on 18 February. (20 Feb 89 p 2) On 20 February he attended an SD delegate conference held in Katowice. (21 Feb 89 p 21)

Marek Holdakowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended a ceremony at Zukowo, Gdansk Voivodship, during which Zukowo was granted town rights. (18-19 Feb 89 p 2) He chaired a plenum of the Gdansk party organization. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, attended a Warsaw SD delegate conference held in Warsaw on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 9)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Isabel Allende Karam, ambassador of Cuba, on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 18 February he attended a PZPR voivodship accountability conference held in Olsztyn. (20 Feb 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received J. Spielmann, general secretary of the Swiss Party of Labor, on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 18 February he attended a PZPR voivodship accountability conference in Biala Podlaska. (20 Feb 89 p 1) On 20 February he met Isabel Allende Karam, Cuban ambassador, and Juergen van Zwoll, GDR ambassador. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Marian Stepien, PZPR Central Committee secretary, received Tadeusz Strugala, head of the Polish Association of Musicians, on 15 February. (16 Feb 89 p 2) On 16 February he received Zygmunt Konopka, head of the Youth Publishing Agency. (17 Feb 89 p 2) On 17 February he attended a plenum of the Wloclawek Voivodship PZPR Committee in Wloclawek. (18-19 Feb 89 p 2) On 20 February he met members of the Polish Association of Authors in Krakow. (21 Feb 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, PPR minister of foreign affairs, received Muammer Akcer, outgoing Turkish ambassador. (20 Feb 89 p 2)

PEC Holds Meeting, Examines Economic Problems

Ceausescu Chairs Meeting

AU0203210089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2024 GMT 2 Mar 89

["Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 02/03/1989—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP held a meeting on Thursday, March 2, under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, when they examined a number of problems of an economic nature.

The Executive Political Committee analysed a report on the fulfilment of the plan for January and February and the measures aimed at attaining the provisions of the plan for March and for the first trimester of 1989. Taking the floor were the prime minister and other members of the government, who informed of the results scored in the first two months of the year and of the actions taken to fulfil all plan indicators for March and for the first trimester of 1989. In light of the analysis made during the meeting, the Executive Political Committee considered that the production growth rates registered in January and February had been higher than those of the same period last year and that almost all ministries had fulfilled and even overfulfilled their marketable-production plan. However in a number of areas continued to register shortfalls, which put results below existing possibilities.

As for the production intended for export, it was considered that although a certain overall growth was registered as to the corresponding period last year, the plan provisions for the first two months of the year had not been completely fulfilled. Firm measures were demanded to eliminate shortfalls, make up for all arrears and integrally fulfil the plan for March and for the entire trimester. More particularly, it was recommended that prime place should be given to the achievement of the production intended for export in the best conditions.

The party general secretary called attention to the need for further action, taken most responsibly and exigently, to raise the quality and the technical standard of products, a key issue of the entire activity in industry, to secure a more marked growth of productivity, the improvement and modernization of production processes in the further reduction of raw and subsidiary materials consumption, the strict observance of approved norms, the use of machinery, equipment and installations at the highest level of efficiency, the strengthening of order and discipline in all areas.

The Executive Political Committee also discussed a report on the evolution of prices and tariffs in 1988. It was considered that, all in all, 1988 saw a fine situation, with prices and tariffs maintained at the 1987 level and below planned limits which once again highlighted the viability and the sound character of the national economy. It was requested that action should be taken further to improve and augment the role of the price system in the economy, to secure a strict stability of all categories of prices and their maintenance within planned limits.

The Executive Political Committee also examined and approved measures to properly carry through the third stage of pay and pension rise drive, to run over March 1-August 1, 1989.

That extensive social drive, which started on August 1, 1988, is a telling expression of the highly humanist policy promoted by the RCP and the Romanian state which is aimed at permanently increasing the incomes of the working people, the welfare of the nation as a whole. Over August 1, 1988-January 1, 1989, all categories of working people whose tariff pay ranged from 1,500 to 2,250 lei benefit from rises, that is more than 4.4 million working people, accounting for roughly 60 percent of the entire working personnel in the economy.

Starting March 1, the third pay-rise stage started when tarrif pays of over 2,250 lei will be increased in a phased-out manner, by branches and activities. The RCP general secretary proposed—and the Executive Political Committee approved—that the pay rise drive should conclude a month ahead of schedule, so that by August 1, 1989 all the working personnel in the economy may have their pays augmented. In that stage more than 3.4 million working people will benefit from pay rises.

As an outcome of these rises, the average pay at the end of the drive will stand at 3,000 lei monthly, which compares with 2,980 lei before the pay rise action. In this way, in 1989 the working personnel will benefit from additional incomes worth 24.4 billion lei. In 1990, when all working people will have had their pays raised, the additional incomes for the year as a whole will stand at 29 billion lei.

Furthermore, starting January 1, 1989, the share to the creation of the profit-sharing fund of the working people in the economy as a whole increases from 2.5-3 per cent to 3-3.5 per cent.

The state social security pensions for work done and full length of service ranging from 1,501 to 3,000 lei monthly will increase starting march 1, 1989. This drive, too, will end one month ahead of schedule. Pension rises will benefit roughly 1.4 million pensioners, the average pension for full length of service amounting to 2,000 lei monthly.

The Executive Political Committee also analysed questions related to the preparation and course of the spring agricultural campaign, the results of the animal census for 1988 and the programme of measures for the achievement of the livestock and animal products planned for 1989-1991, a number of measures regarding the rational utilization of water and the preservation of its quality, proposals concerning the regime of natural semiprecious stones and the exploitation and distribution for utilization of marble blocks, polychrome limestone, sinter, and granites. It was decided that a complex programme be worked out to stipulate tangible measures for the judicious utilization of all water resources, elimination of loss and waste, of pollution, for its exploitation and capitalization in keeping with the norms and laws in force, the responsible utilization and management of water as an integral part of the national wealth. It was also decided that the natural semiprecious stones resulting from the reprocessing of extracted mineral substances be considered as part of the national treasury.

The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP surveyed the evolution of the demographic phenomena in 1988, debated and approved the plan of measures for the celebration of May Day, the anniversary of 50 years since the great patriotic, antifascist and antiwar demonstration of May Day 1939 and of 100 years since the proclamation of May Day as the day of international solidarity of the working people.

Iranian President's Visit Approved

AU0203213389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2029 GMT 2 Mar 89

["CC of RCP Executive Political Committee Approves of the Results of the Recent Romanian-Iranian Summit"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 02/03/1989—Examining during its 2 March meeting an account of the official visit President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'I of the Islamic Republic of Iran paid to Romania over 22-25 February, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP assessed that the visit was an expression of the traditional Romanian-Iranian ties of friendship and cooperation, that through its results it went down as an important moment of the manysided development of the relations between the two countries, for the benefit of both countries, of the cause of international peace, understanding and cooperation. It was stressed that during the talks President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'I appreciated in the positive the relations links between Romania and Iran, set on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage. [sentence as received] The presidents of the two countries reached common conclusions on the expansion of bilateral cooperation and collaboration, more particularly in industry, agriculture, trade, science and technology, setting from the two countries' economic potential, from the experience gained in carrying through projects of joint interest.

Opinions were also exchanged during the talks on major international questions. The will of Romania and of Iran was expressed to strengthen their cooperation in the world arena, to contribute actively to the halting of the arms race and to the passage to disarmament, nuclear in the first place, to the pacific, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, to the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, to the building of a lasting climate of detente, security, cooperation and peace in the world.

Approving of the results of the visit, the Executive Political Committee set measures for the implementation of the decisions regarding the more intense development of the Romanian-Iranian cooperation.

3 March Working Meeting

AU0303190789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1835 GMT 3 Mar 89

["Working Meeting at the CC of the RCP Headquarters on Economic Questions"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 03/03/1989—On 2-3 March, a working meeting on economic questions was held at the CC of the RCP headquarters.

The attendance included full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the CC of the RCP, executives of ministries and central institutions, first secretaries, secretaries in charge of economic and agricultural issues of county RCP Committees, general managers of industrial central departments, of county departments for agriculture and of central institutes of scientific research and technological engineering, party and state activists, activists of mass and public organizations.

On Friday, the proceedings in plenum were chaired by the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu.

Accounts were read of the debates held on Thursday in the councils that coordinate the activity by branches.

In light of the tasks set by the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP during the 2 March meeting, questions were debated regarding the fulfillment of the plan for the first two months of the year, as well as the measures needed for the exemplary implementation of the plan targets for March, for the first quarter and the whole year, for the adequate preparation and course of the spring agricultural campaign, the improvement of the entire economic activity with a view to ensuring an as high as possible level of quality and efficiency in all areas.

The debates were an opportunity to emphasize the results scored and to analyze the shortfalls, and their causes, to set forth the concerns for eliminating them as soon as possible and making up for the arrears in the shortest possible time.

Questions related to the exemplary implementation of the plan for export, as well as for ways and solutions for the rhythmical production, at a high qualitative level, of the goods contracted with foreign partners and for their delivery in due time were thoroughly debated. The RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor at the end of the meeting.

Ceausescu's Speech Reported

AU0403170889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0719 GMT 4 Mar 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Meeting on Economic Questions"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/03/1989—Taking the floor at the end of the working meeting on economic questions held on 2-3 March at the headquarters of the Central Committee of the RCP, President Nicolae Ceausescu stated that a number of important achievements were scored in Romania's economy in the first two months of 1989, and that the marketable production plan as a whole was overfulfilled.

A large number of investment projects were carried through as compared with the same period last year. The speaker drew attention upon the fact that the plan was not integrally fulfilled in metallurgy and chemistry, as well as with some products meant for export. Although, in general, we can say that we have a good start, which gives us the guarantee of implementing this year's plan in good conditions, we cannot be fully content with the way in which the activity was carried on in the first two months—the president stressed, emphasizing that firm action was needed to fulfill all plan targets, to manufacture the physical production as set. The plan can be considered as implemented only if physical production is achieved with all types—Nicolae Ceausescu showed. Any other interpretation, or the achievement of productions in terms of value by neglecting the types and provisions in the contracts should be considered as a violation of laws, of the plan.

The speaker requested the economic ministries, central departments and units to take measures for a good technical and material supply, to ensure a more rapid circulation and a rational use of raw materials, and of financial means, to work for a proper operation and maintenance of plants and equipment, for the recovery and reuse of materials, sub-assemblies and parts.

Referring to the need for a rigorous observance of the material and energy consumption norms and for a further reduction of these consumptions, President Nicolae Ceausescu specified that the energy and raw materials base was entirely ensured in concordance with the consumption norms.

In that context, he stressed that no violation of the consumption norms, no waste could be accepted in any area of activity. The speaker requested that special attention be paid to the quality and performance of production, in all sectors—and more particularly in machine building. To achieve a high-quality and high-tech production is a vital requirement of the national economy and of export, of our entire activity, Nicolae Ceausescu showed. He also stressed the need to ensure a more marked rise in productivity through a better organization of work and production, through the mechanization and automation of works as well as through the achievement of a new system of machines and equipment.

President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that one of the major problems of the Romanian economy was that of scientific organization and updating of products. Showing that Romania boasted a fine, developed, powerful industry, following the investment made, the speaker stressed that to implement the development programmes and plans for this year, for next year and in perspective, a firm passage should be achieved to the implementation of the programmes of scientific organization and modernization of production, on the basis of the latest gains in science and technology. Particularly good conditions are in place and we have a huge potential that enables us to solve, in a short lapse of time, the problems related to the progress of science and technology, to the modernization of our entire activity, the Romanian head of state went on.

President Nicolae Ceausescu requested that greater attention should be paid to the ensurance of profitability and profits in all areas of activity. He also called attention to the fact that the capitalization of Romanian products through exports was unsatisfactory.

Approaching aspects related to the foreign-trade activity, to international economic exchanges, President Nicolae Ceausescu said: We have a number of fine results, we have relations with a very large number of states, we carry on a broad economic and international collaboration activity, but we must say it openly that we cannot be fully contented with those results, with the way in which we carry on that activity. We have possibilities to develop economic exchanges and cooperation in production more powerfully and, more particularly, to more markedly boost the efficiency of foreign trade—a corresponding capitalization of the Romanian people's work, of raw and subsidiary materials, to achieve a balanced, mutually advantageous trade. Do not let us develop a trade that could prejudice our economic and social development.

We must powerfully develop collaboration within the CMEA. Let us work so that the CMEA may play a more important role in the resolution, by each country, of its complex problems related to its economic and social development. And we consider that, through a better collaboration, CMEA countries can solve their socioeconomic development problems, their problems or lags in various areas better than they have done so far, all while attaining a strong technical and scientific progress.

We are firmly resolved to take part in and, in this spirit, develop our activity with all the CMEA countries, to expand our relations of collaboration and cooperation in production with all the socialist countries, to get more extensively involved in collaboration with the developing countries, in cooperation in production, the way we are determined to further work for the development of our links with the developed capitalist countries, with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system. We have the duty to take active part in the international division of labour, in the exchange of assets in all areas. However, we wish to set that collaboration and cooperation on the principles of full equality of rights and mutual advantage, ensuring the socioeconomic progress of each country. To us, the foreign trade activity is an objective requirement. That collaboration should be set on the new-type principles of equality, mutual advantage, it should serve every nation's progress and every people's welfare. It is only under like circumstances that the foreign-trade activity represents an activity that serves progress and peace in the world.

Pointing out that 40 years ago the plenary meeting of the RCP Central Committee agreed on a passage to the cooperativization of agriculture, President Nicolae Ceausescu said: Life and realities proved the correctness of the path we had taken, as set by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, a path taken by our entire peasantry, by Romanian agriculture. It is impossible to think of the significant progress made in Romania's agriculture, of the substantial rise in farm productions, of the villages and units that were among the first to take the road to cooperativization 40 years ago, to now attain per-hectare productions of 8,000-9,000 kgs of wheat and barley and of more than 20,000—up to almost 30,000 kgs—of corn cobs without the state and cooperative sector. These very achievements prove with the power of facts, of realities, the superiority and righteousness of the socialist organization of agriculture in our country.

Celebrating this event, we must work so as to prove through our entire activity that there is and there can be no other way for a modern, high yield agriculture than socialist agriculture—the great socialist agriculture. The speaker referred next to the special tasks incumbent on agriculture this year. He also stressed the need for the integral implementation of the investment programme, and more particularly for the timely commissioning of all units—both industrial and agricultural and social—and, in the first place, of all houses.

Referring to the decision of the Executive Political Committee regarding the conclusion of the pay raise drive one month earlier, so that, starting 1 August 1989, all the working people and pensioners get augmented pays and pensions, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

These measures were possible due to the strong development of the forces of production, to the fulfillment of the provisions for the country's socioeconomic growth. Likewise, these measures, just as the whole activity of socialist construction, prove the correctness of the policy of our Communist Party, the fact that everything we achieve pursues the country's general development, the welfare of all people—the foremost goal of our party's policy, the essence of the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania.

Emphasizing that the rise in the general standard of living was closely linked to the country's general development, to the building and powerful growth of industry, agriculture, science, culture and the other areas of activity, the Romanian head of state said:

Without a corresponding socialist accumulation—of at least 30 per cent—we would not have the conditions to raise the people's standard of living. Equally, unless we further that policy we may jeopardize the future of our entire nation. Therefore, the firm application of the general policy of justly distributing the national income to the consumption and development funds, the ensurance of accumulation and of enlarged reproduction are objective laws, without which socialism cannot be built and socioeconomic progress can in no way be attained.

Considering that the current democratic system in Romania provided for the most diverse forms for the whole people's participation in running society, in working out the home and foreign policy, in purposefully shaping the people's free and independent future—by the people itself—the speaker also underscored the need to further improve that system.

Referring to the fulfillment of the party's leading role in society, the RCP general secretary said: Our state has very clear provisions as far as the responsibilities of state, economic and party bodies are concerned. It is not our intention to have the party organization manage enterprises—we have directors, we have financial bodies and we have the working people's councils and general meetings for that purpose—but party organizations in enterprises and in all sectors are responsible for the way in which all these bodies carry on their activity, for the rallying of all working people's efforts towards a unique goal—the general growth of every area of activity. The party cannot shun, nor can it adopt the position of an observer in the implementation of socioeconomic development programmes. It is our responsibility before the people, for the future of our nation to do our utmost so that each party organization, each activist, each party member may fulfill their highly responsible mission of honour to do everything possible for socialism, for communism, for the people's welfare, for the country's independence, the speaker pointed out.

Concluding his speech, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the belief that the anniversary of 45 years since the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation and the preparations and course of the 14th party congress should lead to the improvement of activities in all areas.

Daily Comments on Inter-Balkan Cooperation

AU0103140289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1314 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Tendencies Congenial for Extended Inter-Balkan Dialogue and Collaboration—Commentary in the Romanian Daily SCINTEIA of March 1, Excerpts"—AGER PRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 1/3/1989—A program-like orientation of the Romanian foreign policy, the broad development of the collaboration with the other Balkan states, based on the democratic norms of international relations, reveals its importance and significance once more, in the context of the current tendencies in the region, of the obvious progress of the spirit of collaboration and dialogue. Both on a bilateral plane and on a multilateral one, recent developments have corroborated once more the RCP and Romanian state's unitary conception about the necessity to strengthen the friendship, confidence and good neighbourliness in south-eastern Europe, of turning it into a zone of peace and cooperation. In this sense, President Nicolae Ceausescu has recently stressed: "As far as the Balkan region is concerned, Romania speaks up, together with the other countries, for the realization of a zone free of nuclear weapons, free of chemical weapons and foreign military bases, considering that it is only by a general measure, that should encompass all of them, that a zone can be created where peaceful coexistence and free socioeconomic development of the peoples may be ensured, naturally, within the framework of the preoccupations for the complete elimination of these weapons from Europe and the whole world." The achievement of such zones is conceived by Romania as a part of, as a beginning within the preoccupations for the elimination of the mass destruction weapons from Europe and all over the world, since, as it is easy to understand, without this, the respective zones cannot shun the effects of the respective weapons in case of a general conflict.

Conducting fine relations of friendship and collaboration with all the other states in the region, actively participating in the multilateral reunions in recent years, Romania thinks that the progress marked in the inter-Balkan dialogue offers favourable conditions for its continuous expansion and deepening, for a dynamic evolution, in all domains of mutual interest. To this end, Romania suggested the organization of a Balkan summit, as a new, higher stage of regional collaboration, meant to give new dimensions to detente and cooperation, a powerful impetus to the actions for turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and security, as part and parcel of building European security, of the general struggle for disarmament and peace, for the promotion of a fresh thinking and action in international life.

The new tendencies in the region, the progress marked by the collaboration in various domains lend a profound significance to the actions, stands and demarches pursuing along the years the consolidation of the traditional links among the Balkan countries, the establishment of a lasting climate of peace and security in this part of the world. As shown also by a number of recent events, the bilateral relations between Balkan countries are a domain of constant efforts for the consolidation of confidence and good neighbourliness, for the promotion of a spirit of collaboration and dialogue. The visits at top level and other levels, the accords and understandings of economic, technological, scientific, commercial, cultural cooperation concluded on such occasions have grown in number. Likewise, gaining ground is the principle of using only political, peaceful methods in the settlement of some issues with which certain states in the region are still faced in their mutual relationship. On a non-governmental multilateral plane, a number of specialized bodies carry on fine activity, making an important contribution to a better mutual acquaintance, to the cause of friendship among the Balkan peoples. Also, as a corollary of the constructive efforts deployed along the years, of the joint aspirations after progress and welfare, a wide-embracing process of multilateral collaboration at a governmental level has been started. Going through several stages so far, including clarification in concept and practice, the process of multilateral Balkan collaboration evinces a welcome tendency toward continuation and deepening, in the spirit and on the basis of the new principles of inter-state relations, of the cause of international peace and security. It is thus proved that the differences of social system, membership and non-membership in the existing political-military and economic groupings, cannot and must not stand for an obstacle in the path to the development of the collaboration, if one constantly starts from what brings peoples closer and what unites them, from their mutual aspirations and interests.

All these are important materializations of the new tendencies in the region, a remarkable progress on the path to the assertion of a new climate, that have to be consolidated and deepened, so that the Balkans—once the powder keg of Europe—should become a region of peace and stability, of largest possible collaboration and good neighbourliness. Permanently in the attention of the peoples in the region that wish to ensure their own progress and welfare in conditions of peace and full security, these objectives were also on the agenda of the recent meeting in Tirana of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, organized as part of the actions envisioned by the first meeting, in Belgrade, of the foreign ministers of the countries in the peninsula (February 1988) and by the meeting in Sofia (June 1988) of representatives of foreign ministries. Proceeding in a constructive spirit, of understanding, the forum in the Albanian capital was under the token of continuity, of reiterated will and determination of the states in the region to develop and consolidate the process of inter-Balkan collaboration, based on full equality and mutual regard, to the benefit of understanding, good neighbourliness and confidence in the region, of peace and security in the Balkans and all over Europe. Examining in this sense the progress marked by the regional collaboration, establishing new measures for the future, the participants unanimously stressed, as shown in the endorsed protocol, the importance of providing conditions for the organization in Bucharest of a meeting of Balkan heads of state or government. The consensus reached in this respect demonstrates the realistic and topical character of Romania's initiative, the importance of the efforts made by Romania for the development of the inter-Balkan dialogue and collaboration, for their continuous deepening.

Likewise, recording the attention paid to turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, the protocol recommends that this should remain a major preoccupation for future talks.

A telling expression of the new tendencies in the region, the meeting in Tirana established a rich calendar of future activities in the domain of inter-Balkan collaboration.

Pay Increase in Mining Industry Reported

AU0103190789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 1 Mar 89

["Generalization of Pay Rise in the Mining Industry"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/03/1989—As of March 1, the third stage in the pay rise of the working staff starts in Romania.

The first to benefit by this raise in the current stage are the people working in the mining industry, a sector which is given special attention, as it has a most important role in supplying power and raw materials for the national economy. Mineworkers' base pay is higher under provisions in force. Given the high pays in this industrial branch, most of the mineworkers will benefit by the pay rise now, in the third stage, their number topping 160,000. Thus the mining industry becomes the first sector where the pay rise is generalized to all the staff. The pays of workers, foremen, technical, economic, administrative and other staff will differ with levels, categories and grades of employment.

Base pays will be raised from 3060-5130 lei monthly to 3465-5480 lei, according to the remuneration class.

The people working in this industry will also get additional incomes through the augmentation of the variable part of remunerations, increased remunerations including also the compensations for food, electric energy, gas and other fuel which did not add to the basic pay until now. These extend basis for the computation of other money rights, including pension rights. Just as previous pay rises, the current ones do not affect the right to state child benefits, rents.

The third pay rise stage to end on 1 August 1989 has in view over a million people working in all sectors with a base pay higher than 2250 lei. At the end of this action the average remuneration in the economy will reach 3300 lei (as to 2980 when started). Hence the entire working staff will get this year an additional 24.4 billion lei, and in 1990 extra incomes will amount at 29 billion lei.

Further Reportage on Detention of Azem Vlasi

Indictment 'Uncertain'

LD0303220689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2029 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 3 (TANJUG)—Judging from today's statement by ranking party official in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo Budislav Vujisic, it is not yet certain whether or not member of the provincial party organization Azem Vlasi, detained yesterday, will be indicted.

In a talk with newsmen today, Vujisic said that the three officials detained yesterday would "either be indicted or released, depending on the decision of the competent organs".

Together with businessmen Aziz Abrasi and Burhan Kavaja, Vlasi was detained on Thursday on well-grounded suspicion that he was involved in the organization of demonstrations and strikes by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo in November and last week.

Abrasi is director of the Trepca mining and metallurgical complex and Kavaja is director of the Trepca Stari Trg mine, whose 1,300 ethnic Albanian miners staged an eight-day strike in a mine shaft last month, demanding resignations by Yugoslav-minded party officials in the province Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi and Ali Sukrija.

Vlasi was recently expelled from the League of Communists of Yugoslav Central Committee as responsible for the slow process of normalization of the situation in Kosovo, which has for years been burdened with the activity of ethnic Albanian separatists.

Asked to comment on the rumours of the alleged arrest of another 14 persons involved in the organization of the November and February demonstrations, Vujisic replied that he does "not have this information". He said, however, that a number of persons had been summoned to make statements concerning the detention of Vlasi, Kavaja and Abrasi, and that this might have created the impression in the public mind that a larger number of people have been arrested.

Commenting on the resignations of Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija, Vujisic stressed that they had not been tendered under pressure from the strikers, but had, rather, been motivated by the desire to protect the miners' health. These resignations are yet to be discussed by party organs, he announced.

1-Year Detention Ordered

LD0503142289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Based on a report filed by the department of the state security service and by the investigating judge of the district court in Titova Mitrovica, the office of the district public prosecutor in Titova Mitrovica has demanded an investigation into the activities of Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, and Burhan Kavaja. This is based on a well-founded suspicion that they have committed the crime of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to our social system, based on Article 114 of the Yugoslav Criminal Code, and punishable in accordance with Article 139, paragraph one of the same law. TANJUG has been told this by Slavko Selanovic, deputy provincial public prosecutor, who at the moment is acting Kosovo provincial public prosecutor. After interrogating Vlasi, Abrasi, and Kavaja, the investigating judge of the district court in Titova Mitrovica decided to proceed with an investigation, and ordered their detention for 1 month.

Vlasi Chooses Attorneys

LD0503202589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 5 (TANJUG)—According to reports from Zagreb, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, Azem Vlasi has chosen Zagreb lawyer Zeljko Olujic as his defence counsel during the investigation.

Olujic told reporters that Vlasi also hired Ljubljana lawyer Drago Demsar as his other counsel.

Olujic added that he received his procuration today and that he will see his client as soon as possible.

Official Denies Report of Hodza Escape

LD0303191989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1720 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 3 (TANJUG)—The news that Fadil Hodza has escaped from the country is false, Kosovo Socialist Alliance Secretary Budislav Vujisic said today.

Hodza is in Pristina and the claim that his passport has been taken away is also false, Vujisic said.

Hodza, a former Kosovo politician, is a leading ideologue of Albanian separatism and nationalism.

He left the political scene in 1987, after top political forums established that as the most influential representative of the ethnic Albanian majority in the province he was greatly responsible for the negative developments in Kosovo which culminated in the counter-revolution by ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists in 1981.

Pristina Radio on Hodja
AU0303202689

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 3 March, begins its regular 30-minute newscast with reports on the 2 March SFRY Presidency meeting and on the Kumravec meeting of a commission preparing for organizational changes in the LCY, chaired by Stipe Suvar.

This is followed by an approximately 15-minute block of items pertaining to the general situation and various activities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, including reports on talks conducted in various communes by Remzi Kolgeci, Kosovo Presidency president, and Kosovo Presidency member Nebi Gasi in the communes of Prizren and Gjilan, where they were briefed on the situation. A correspondent is cited reporting from the Stari Trg mine, "where the situation is returning to normal and work is expected to resume fully within a few days." This is followed by a 1-minute report citing a Kosovo Trade Union Presidium communique which includes "a call for the normalization of work in all enterprises"; the communique also endorses recent decisions by the SFRY Presidency, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and other bodies, pertaining to the situation and recent events in Kosovo. The announcer says that various decisions by federal, Serbian, and Kosovo bodies are also endorsed by the Kosovo Veterans Association, which also calls for the withdrawal of the resignations by Kosovo leaders "under pressure."

Next announcer-read reports from various communes are heard, which mainly report normal resumption of work in factories and schools, although some Serb and Montenegrin students and pupils in Pristina and other places are reported to be boycotting classes. An announcer says that "no reaction has been reported" to the news of the investigation of Azem Vlasi and other former Kosovo officials.

Another item within the block of news on Kosovo refers to an open letter sent to the media by Daut Jasanica, president of the Presidency of the Kosovo Provincial SAWP Conference, in which "he refutes the report published today in the newspaper EKSPRES POLITIKA, which mentions his name and function among those who are responsible for organizing the strikes and demonstrations."

This is immediately followed by an announcer stating: "Meanwhile the report about Fadil Hodza's alleged escape from Yugoslavia is untrue. This was said today at a meeting with foreign correspondents by Dobislav Vujcic, secretary of the Presidency of the provincial SAWP conference. He also denied reports that Fadil Hodja had to surrender his passport. Vujcic stressed that Fadil Hodza is in Pristina, and both reports about his escape and the surrender of his passport are products of the same kitchen."

Work, Classes Reportedly Resuming in Kosovo
AU0303155689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Here is a report from Pristina by Milivoj Mihajlovic on the latest events in Kosovo:

The 3d day of March is passing relatively peacefully. Life is slowly getting back to normal. Production is continuing in work organizations, as well as in plants which were quiet until yesterday. Students and pupils are regularly attending lessons. However, it can be noticed that there is still a reduced attendance by students at some faculties in lessons in the Albanian language.

Most comment is being passed today on the news that internal affairs secretariat officials have detained the former head of Kosovo politics, Azem Vlasi, the president of the Trepca management council Aziz Abrasi, and the director of the Stari Trg mine, Burhan Kavaja. It has still not yet been officially confirmed that the list of those who have been arrested is much longer, and that it contains the names of political and economic leaders.

The Kosovo people are virtually shocked by the fact that this is the first time that such measures have been taken against some officials. This is being interpreted as a sign that circumstances in Kosovo will stabilize on a longer term basis, because on earlier occasions, the ones who usually clashed with the law were those who were manipulated, and the situation became worse. The resoluteness of the Yugoslav authorities this time seems to have surprised the inhabitants of the province the most. Reactions can still not be predicted. A guarantee of peace and security in Kosovo is for now being most conspicuously offered by the presence of members of the Yugoslav People's Army and the militia.

Members of the political aktiv of the province are in the field for the 2d day. Their main task is to brief Albanians on the essence and the political background of last week's protests and on the need for the introduction of special measures in the province.

As far as the submitted and announced resignations of provincial officials are concerned, it is now clear that they were forced. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium has taken the stand that the officials must remain in their posts in the complex situation and fully contribute to the stabilization of the situation, even though Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the provincial committee, mentioned at yesterday's press conference that provincial forums have yet to discuss the resignations.

Situation in Kosovo 'Returning to Normal'
LD0403204889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 4 (TANJUG)—The situation in Kosovo is gradually returning to normal and the reactions to recent events from other parts of Yugoslavia have become calmer, supporting the measures taken by the state Presidency with the aim of stabilizing the situation in the southern province.

The situation in the province has improved today after the suicide strike of ethnic Albanian workers ten days ago triggered inter-nationality tension and nearly completely halted production.

Production, traffic and food supplies have all been normalized and the situation in schools, where class have been boycotted in the past days by Serb and Montenegrin children, is expected to return to normal on Monday.

The arrests made so far include former Kosovo party chief Azem Vlasi and two directors at the Trepca mine, all of them detained on suspicion of involvement in the organization of demonstrations last November and the latest strike by ethnic Albanian miners.

The Socialist Alliance of Kosovo announced today that provincial police informed it that they had no indication that president of that largest socio-political organization Daut Jasanica was involved in the organization of the demonstrations and the strikes in the province.

Yugoslavia should turn to the economy, work and reform, Vice-President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Stane Dolanc said in an interview with Zagreb television today.

He said one of the main causes of the current political situation was the state of the Yugoslav economy.

Speaking about his meetings with foreign statesmen and politicians during his visit to Japan, where he attended the funeral of Emperor Hirohito, Dolanc said that the implication of the talks was that Yugoslavia needs political stability in order to attract foreign capital since it does not have its own, necessary for the surmounting of the initial difficulties of the forthcoming economic reform.

Dolanc stressed, however, that the future of Yugoslavia depends solely on its own citizens and on whether "reason prevails and whether we finally understand that our time requires democratic methods in the surmounting of conflicts." He added that Yugoslavia is possible only as a federative country of equal nations and nationalities living in concord and understanding that the country should open up towards the world.

President of the State Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Nikola Filipovic today expressed the conviction that Yugoslavia will win the battle in Kosovo and that the measures taken in the province by the Yugoslav state and party leaderships guarantee this. Units of the Yugoslav Armed Forces were sent to Kosovo as part of the special measures, which also include a ban on assembly and restrictions on movement.

Referring to some articles in Western press on "socialism of tanks" in Yugoslavia, Filipovic said that the "tanks are ours, the ground they move on is ours, Yugoslavia's socialism, such as it is, is also ours, and the people defending it are ours," adding that this was why he believed that the Kosovo problems will be resolved.

The party committee of Zagreb, capital of Croatia, today supported the measures introduced by the Yugoslav state and party leaderships aimed at curbing the counter-revolution in Kosovo.

The Zagreb party organization called for the adoption of a unified platform of the struggle against the "destructive activity of nationalisms and chauvinisms in the entire country."

Special measures in Kosovo should be understood as temporary and as a respite in the preparation of a political action in the province, it was said at the session of the Zagreb Party City Committee.

TANJUG Reports 'Quiet Weekend' in Kosovo

LD0503133189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1129 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Summary] Pristina, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—This has been a quiet weekend in Kosovo. By and large today is a day off, but there are collectives which either because of the technological process or because of the desire to make up losses are working today. The streets of Pristina are empty and the bleak and rainy weather no doubt playing a part in it.

'Tug-of-War' Between Forces in Kosovo Viewed

AU0303202389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] The relatively calm situation in Kosovo gives us the opportunity to say a little more about the essence of the events in the province and the measures which have been taken there to sort out the situation. Kosta Krajincanic reports from Pristina:

The game of tug-of-war that has lasted for many years in Kosovo and (?because of) Kosovo was stopped at the last minute, when the rope threatened to break and the game almost turned into tears. The state intervened and made it known that it still exists and knows how to bear its teeth when it senses that it is being threatened.

As much as the tasks of the state and its defense and security organs have become clear, political action has found itself in a delicate situation. On the one hand, under the influence of the miners' strike and whatever else that will happen concerning the strike, there has been the greatest homogenization of Albanians in Kosovo since the war. On the other hand, after the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija, there has been a real eruption of the dissatisfaction of Serbs and Montenegrins.

In the gap between these two counterforces, the Kosovo party is seeking the best option for its practical activity, which hinders the political divisions in its ranks.

The most senior party leaders point out this aggravating circumstance. So, in an interview with journalists recently, Tomislav Sekulic, secretary of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, warned that people in Kosovo can no longer gather and polarize in such a way that Serbs and Montenegrins stand behind three Albanians while all Albanians are against these three same men. Only together can all those who live in the province defend and implement the policy of the LC, said Sekulic.

In truth, this political stand has existed for a long time and has already acquired the taste of a hackneyed slogan. However, at this moment, when much mist has been swept from Kosovo, which allows Yugoslavia or at least its largest part to see more clearly what is really happening three, and when it seems that Yugoslavia has decided more resolutely than ever since the beginning of the Kosovo crisis to oppose the counterrevolution of Albanian nationalism and separatism, the need for unity and togetherness in all of Kosovo has become the primary political task.

There is no other greater task than for people in Kosovo to live in harmony, because people on the same territory must live only like this. Powerful troubles have blown through Kosovo and left serious consequences: national division, distrust, fear, and anger. The tug-of-war lasted a long time, a terribly long time. An unbelievably long time has been lost forever. Yugoslavia's cheeks have reddened 100 times because of Kosovo. Among ourselves, we have not succeeded in reaching agreement, and before the world we have hesitated in implementing those measures which are used elsewhere in this world, even in the most democratic part of the world and without excuse, in defense of the constitutional order and integrity of the state.

It is a thankless task to forecast what will happen in Kosovo. There are still very strong forces, both in the province and the entire country, which do not in any way accept a policy which the most senior state and party leaders want to implement in Kosovo, despite the delay. The struggle for Kosovo continues.

Pristina Military Commander Comments on Kosovo

LD0403202789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—The latest events in Kosovo, behind which are forces of aggressive nationalism and separatism, jeopardize the normal functioning of economic and social activities, public order and peace, social property, personal secrity, and the security of citizens' ownership in the province. The decision by the SFRY Presidency was aimed at cutting off enemy activity—which endangers the constitutional set-up of the SFRY—and at a resolute change in such a situation.

Maj-Gen Andrija Silic, commander of the Pristina Corps, said this today for TANJUG and Yugoslav Radio and Televisions, JRT, and commented on the role of the JNA, the Yugoslav People's Army, in implementing the special measures to end counterconstitutional activities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, about which both the Yugoslav and foreign public is greatly interested. Maj-Gen Silic gave this statement out in the field near Pristina, where he was present at a regular training exercise of JNA units of the Pristina garrison. Because the Armed Forces are meant to protect independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the constitutionally established setup of the SFRY, it is natural that certain measures were also ordered for JNA units, Silic said. Acting in accordance with the decision of the SFRY Presidency, JNA units in Kosovo have been put in a heightened degree of combat readiness, and some former JNA members have been mobilized. Programs of combat training and education and of political work have been adopted to the concrete circumstances. Security and self-protection measures have been strengthened. In general, the JNA units in Kosovo are ready to carry out all tasks which the SFRY Presidency, as the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, might order in accordance with the situation. The high combat readiness and firm moral and political unity and preparedness to carry out tasks are our great contribution to stabilizing the situation and the best barrier against aggressive forces, and at the same time guarantee the security of citizens. All other measures for normalizing the situation in the province should be undertaken by organs of sociopolitical communities and sociopolitical organizations within the framework of their competence.

Maj-Gen Silic explained the fact that large columns of tanks and other army vehicles can be seen on roads to the province, with the adjustment of combat readiness and training to the concrete circumstances: We have no reason to hide from those who are working against Yugoslavia, and we have even less reason to hide from our citizens. We want to be a warning to the former, and encouragement and security to the later.

Replying to the question of how soldiers, 19-year olds, are acting in the present situation, Silic said that they act excellently and that here there are no problems. Tasks are carried out conscientously and responsibly. As a commander, I am proud of my soldiers and officers, who at every step express high patriotic consciousness and loyalty to Yugoslavia and its politics, Maj-Gen Silic stressed. It is a real pleasure to see how much will, conscience, and discipline are exerted by young people in carrying out their tasks. They intensively follow all events in Kosovo and in the country, and give full support to the measures of the SFRY Presidency for the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. At the same time, they express resoluteness and readiness to overcome the situation.

How soldiers deal with the present situation and their attitude toward tasks, Maj-Gen Silic stressed, is best explained by the fact that several hundreds of them, whose military service has ended or is about to end, asked to stay on and not go home. Their gesture serves as an example of what attitude one should have toward the Army and homeland.

Keeping the closest possible contact with youth, working people, and citizens is an important part of our activities, Silic went on. Last year, concrete, big results were achieved in this area. Our Army is the people's and all-Yugoslav, Silic emphasized; it belongs equally to all our nations and nationalities, and it acts in that capacity in all areas of our country and here in Kosovo as well.

The present circumstances do not provide for organizing some bigger joint manifestation, because the competent organs of the province have banned mass gatherings. Despite this, our contact with the people is constant. The people accept soldiers with full respect, because they see our concrete contribution to help, cooperate with, and support Yugoslav orientations.

Concerning his view on what the way out from the present situation is, Silic said that it is now essential that measures established by the decision of the SFRY Presidency be carried out consistently and resolutely. All dangers to the constitutional setup of the country, personal security, and security of ownership of citizens must be eliminated. Looking at a long-term solution, the most important thing is to consolidate intranational trust—which is seriously shaken—and to reaffirm brotherhood and unity. Without it, no major problem burdening life in the province can be solved. Then, a differentiation should be started resolutely and uncompromisingly, and simultaneously we should turn to problems of the life and work of people. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and the Kosovo SAP Presidency are most responsible for this, but so are the help and support of leaderships of the SR (?of Serbia), the SAP Vojvodina, and the organs of the federation, which are equally important.

We must not and will not permit anyone to play with with destiny of Yugoslavia, Maj-Gen Andrija Silic, commander of the Pristina Corps, said at the end of his statement to TANJUG and JRT.

Azemi Explains Resignation to Pristina LC

AU0203112889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Feb 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "I Am Leaving With a Feeling of Bitterness"]

[Text] Informing the Communal Committee Presidium of the LC of Pristina about his irrevocable resignation as president of the communal committee, Husamedin Azemi said the following:

I am honestly worried about the lives and health of all the people down in the pit, and I sympathize with the worries of their families. However, I know that the miners' demands are being taken advantage of in order to achieve certain political aims which are at variance with LC orientations and are therefore not in the miners' interest.

Unlike those people who criticized me, I tried to unite the divided Kosovo people and bring them closer together. I have never based my work on championing the interests of only one people or nationality. I have never put the interests of one group of people before those of another group.

Unfortunately, the relationship among Kosovo political forces is not such that my views could enjoy the support of a majority. Therefore, I think that demands for my resignation are political demands aimed at maintaining the continuity of a policy that party bodies at all levels in the country recently assessed as unsuccessful; what is involved here are not cadre changes. This policy is aimed against the interests of my nationality.

In such a grave political situation, it is much easier to leave than to remain at the post I hold. However, those people who make such demands and those who support them must know that their wishes are not good for the Albanian people and that they are playing with the people's interests with the intent of realizing their own.

What I feel about the situation we have found ourselves in is not my own responsibility, but concern. Because of the blackmail and psychological pressure threatening to hold me responsible for the miners' lives and health, I tender my resignation as president of the Communal Committee Presidium of the LC of Pristina.

I must admit that I am leaving with a feeling of bitterness, because I am deeply convinced that I have been following a correct road, Tito's road, and that the policy I advocated is the only alternative and the token of equality, brotherhood, and unity of all peoples and nationalities.

At the end of the debate, although the majority of participants were against his resignation, the Communal Committee Presidium of the LC of Pristina acknowledged Husamedin Azemi's explanation that "As of today, I am not the president of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pristina. I will remain a member only."

Until the next session, the duties of the president of the Communal Committee of the LC of Pristina will be performed by secretary Zivojin Mitrovic.

Kosovo LC Presidium Defends Leadership

LD0103200789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Comittee is of the opinion that there is no basis for the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija in their previous ideopolitical activity and work. This was stated in the conclusions of the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee held on 28 February.

Morina, Azemi, and Sukrija clearly proved themselves fighters for LCY politics. The resignations were forced and tendered under pressure for humane reasons, for saving lives, and health.

Kosovo Special Measures Pronounced Necessary

LD0303185189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The special measures introduced in Kosovo by the SFRY Presidency are the only alternative and chance to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. This was the basic conclusion of today's session of the Presidium of the Trade Union Federation Council, which was devoted to the situation in Kosovo and in the country.

In order to overcome the situation in Kosovo, it is essential to normalize production as soon as possible, adopt the Serbian constitutional changes, and halt any divisions of the working class in the country.

Bucin Offers Explanation About 'Urgent Measures'

AU2202140289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 89 p 3

[I. Lakusic report: "The People Cannot Be Ignored"]

[Excerpts] Titograd, 19 Feb—The participation of Nenad Bucin, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, in the discussion forum at the Titograd Budo Tomovic Youth Hall the evening before last has aroused great interest.

Speaking about the roles the SAWP and the LC play in our society, Bucin said, among other things, that the belief has penetrated the SAWP that it can play its constitutional and statutory role without the people. The events in Montenegro have shown that the illusion that the SAWP and LC can succeed even with their stereotypical work can be fatal. If the SAWP wants to create a modern look for itself and to be joined by the broadest circle of citizens and working people, it must be more independent than it has been so far. Above all, it must free itself from the direct influence of the party, Bucin said. The LC has been distancing itself from the workers class for years, and that fact does not seem to bother anybody. Moreover, this tendency has been going on undisturbed, and has even intensified.

Commenting on events in Montenegro in the period from August until January, Bucin pointed out that this was a period of "unprecedented indifference on the part of the leaderships, who allowed themselves to call the people destructive and insufficiently mature." If one considers the self-assurance and self-admiration of the bureaucratic leaderships, it is small wonder that the people asked them to step down from the political scene.

In reply to the question about the meaning of the statement that we are facing new socialism, Bucin said that this new phrase probably confuses the people. This new socialism will survive if we solve our problems. If it turns out that we cannot do so, then as of that moment, new socialism will be a former socialism! [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Decision Made on the Telephone

One of the questions asked at the discussion forum at the Budo Tomovic Youth Hall was whether Bucin had in any way taken part in making the decision to carry out urgent measures in October 1988, and why he has so far failed to voice his opinion about this.

"Last October was the first time that somebody in my home republic remembered that I am also its representative in the federation. I am not a member of the Presidency of the SR of Montenegro; therefore, there was no reason for me to take part in making that decision and, I must say, I did not wish to do so. The final decision about urgent measures was formulated and made by the Montenegrin Presidency, but I am deeply convinced—and I said so at public forums in Budva and in Belgrade, where I spoke to about 300 Montenegrin veterans who are living in Belgrade—that the decision was made in telephone conversations between Radovic and Suvar, and between Ivanovic and Dizdarevic," Nenad Bucin replied.

300 Serbian Miners Hold Meeting in Kosovo

AU0103195789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Here is a report by Milivoj Mihajlovic in Kosovo:

At a meeting today of about 300 miners of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from the mines of Kisnica and Novo Brdo, it was demanded that Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija withdraw their resignations. It was demanded that Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo be provided with a peaceful life.

Perturbed by the political situation in their collective and province, the workers demanded that Trepca leaders Aziz Abrasi and Buhan Kavaja, as well as the whole leadership of the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines be replaced. They also condemned statements and conclusions of certain officials in forums in Slovenia and Croatia that the unacceptable political demands of the Stari Trg miners should be met for humane reasons. It was demanded that the provincial officials—Remzi Koljgeci, Savo Komatinic, Nazim Mustafa, Nebi Gasi, and Ized Sehu—submit their resignations immediately.

It was pointed out at the meeting that the miners of Kisnica and Novo Brdo did not go on hunger strike, that the leaders of the mines did not allow Serbs and Montenegrins to work, and that last Sunday [26 February] the leaders of these work organizations did everything to make sure that production was stopped. These same leaders today persuaded workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality to end their work stoppage, and that it was most important to maintain unity among the workers.

Today (Sedimka Straci), Imer Haka, and Osman Hazidi expressed the belief that the political situation should be put to one side.

On several occasion, there were signs that the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines had begun to fail after the arrival of the former director, Nazim Mustafa. Then, it was said, interethnic relations began to worsen, and are extremely tense today.

Zivojin Mitrovic, secretary of the Pristina LC Communal Committee Presidium, warned at this meeting that a fight for Yugoslavia was now taking place. It is the duty of this state to ensure a peaceful [word indistinct] for all citizens, and it must use all means to do this. Kosovo workers have the obligation to behave in line with the measures that are being taken by the SFRY Presidency to ensure that all workers make a maximum contribution to the stabilization of the situation in collectives in the province. Therefore, Mitrovic warned, there will no longer be any meetings, and we must turn toward work.

Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, said that the resignations of Rahman Morina, Husamedin Azemi, and Ali Sukrija were forced by political pressure and blackmail, and without reasoned argument. Andjelkovic mentioned that a great political campaign was being conducted through disinformation and blackmail, which has led to the 7-day economic counterrevolution in Kosovo. Those who played with Yugoslavia in the course of last week, dividing the working class of Kosovo, must be responsible for this, said Zoran Andjelkovic at the meeting of workers of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality in the Kisnica and Novo Brdo mines.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Kosovo

LD0203064889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0518 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Central Yugoslavia, March 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia must not and cannot divide, concluded the Central Committee of the League of Communists of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Central Yugoslavia, here yesterday while discussing the political situation in the Republic in particular and in Yugoslavia in general.

The Kosovo drama reaching the unprecedented critical dimensions these days was the motive for this session and those taking the floor mostly warned of nationalistic feelings which have disunited the leadership as the biggest obstacle in the way of solving problems.

"We must energetically unmask and stop the forces of Albanian nationalism which abuse workers, youths and other ethnic Albanians for their sinister goals while resorting to political blackmailing as well, Abdulah Mutapcic, president of the Central Committee Presidency, said.

Through joint Yugoslav actions we must retrieve tranquillity and safety feelings to local Serbs, Montenegrins and other nationalities living in Kosovo, he emphasised. This is why amendments to Serbia's Constitution should be passed as soon as possible and secured that the Republic of Serbia has all rights in its territory like other republics in Yugoslavia, Mutapcic said.

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina joins the Presidency of Yugoslavia's topmost party leadership in its asking of all republics and provinces leaderships, particularly so of the League of Communists leading bodies and topmost officials, to do everything they can to have conflicts, dissensions and recriminations put to an end, he emphasised.

It was proposed at the session that, for this purpose, urgently be convened a session of the LCY's Central committee and that next LCY congress be held before December next, this being required by pressing problems.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Views Situation

LD0203220189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1821 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency today examined the political and security situation in the country and noted that the distabilizing of the situation in Kosovo has a direct impact on the political situation in this republic, threatening the political system as a whole. The Presidency was reported to have given full support to the special measures which the SFRY Presidency has undertaken for the protection of the constitutional system, public peace and order, personal and material security, and the safety of all the citizens of this province. Among other things, the Presidency warned about the vital need for ending confrontations among the leaderships and called for the democratic resolution of all open issues within the institutions of the system, without any pressure.

Zagreb LC Discusses Kosovo Developments

LD0403182789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1434 GMT 4 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Mar (TANJUG)—Supporting the current measures of the state and party leadership aimed at eradicating counterrevolution in Kosovo, the Zagreb LC City Committee at the same time called for a united platform to be constructed without delay for the struggle against "the destructive activity of nationalism and chauvinism" throughout the country. United activity by the LC at the federal level and in all the LC organizations in the republics and provinces is essential in order to halt national confrontation and nationalist provocations throughout the country, the Zagreb LC City Committee concluded.

An introductory speech was made at the session of the Zagreb LC City Committee on the current sociopolitical situation in the city and in the country by Presidium President Luka Miletic. Taking part in the work of the session, together with members of the city Committee, were members of the LCY Central Committee and the Croatian LC Central Committee from the Zagreb region, including Ivica Racan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Celestin Sardelic, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium.

The special measures in Kosovo, it was stressed in the conclusions, should be seen as temporary, as the creation of a respite for the preparation of political action, a united socialist front in Kosovo, and for far more organized and resolute work by the LC in winning over the masses, above all the Albanian masses. The Zagreb LC will make its contribution to implementing the Yugoslav program of action for the stabilization of political conditions and the development of Kosovo.

Confirming its commitment to a political pluralism which is in line with socialist program orientations and the principles of the constitutional system and within the framework of the SAWP, the City Committee resolutely rejected "all retrograde, nationalist, and narrowly national" attempts at cohesion.

In the discussion and the conclusions, there was particular condemnation of attempts by people who took part in the Maspok [Croatian nationalist movement of late 1960's] to exploit the critical situation for renewing their nationalist activities by forming the "Croatian Democratic Community". There will be no place for this in Zagreb, it is stated in the conclusions. Neither will there be any place for other attempts to provoke interethnic conflicts or single-nationality gatherings.

All this, as high priority tasks of the Zagreb LC, represents a precondition for turning toward the tasks of reform and the further democratization of society in order to overcome the crisis and remove its socioeconomic causes, it was stressed at today's session.

Youth Delegation Cuts Bulgarian Visit Short

LD2802204289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 28 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Alliance, headed by its president Branko Greganovic, Tuesday broke off its working and friendly visit to Bulgaria and returned home due to "the situation in Yugoslavia".

The Yugoslav youth delegation, in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, were engaged in talks with its first secretary Andrey Burzalov.

The Yugoslav delegation was received by Bulgarian Communist Party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Dimitur Stoyanov who informed them about the efforts of the Bulgarian society to restructure its economy and the important role of the youth in this process.

Greganovic said he was satisfied with the short visit and stressed that the question of the position of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria objectively limits the strengthening of Yugoslav-Bulgarian cooperation, which should be conditioned by this issue. The Yugoslav youth representatives also discussed this with their hosts.

Weak Earthquake Reported in Serbia; No Damage

LD0503091889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0106 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—At 0122 this morning the Seismological Institute of Serbia registered a fairly weak quake, with the epicenter 130 km south of Belgrade.

The magnitude of the quake at its epicenter was four units on the Richter scale, and its intensity was 5.5 degrees on the Mercalli scale.

The quake was felt in Kraljevo, Trstenik, Vrnjacka Banja, Aleksandrovac, and other localities.

In the evaluation of institute experts, a quake of this magnitude could not have caused any material damage.

Stanovnik's Assessment of Meeting Attacked

AU0303172089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] The Slovene Democratic Alliance [SDA] today attacked Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, because he assessed that some speakers at the meeting of solidarity with Albanian miners, which was held in Cankar Hall, presented their own views, which had nothing at all to do with Kosovo. Apart from that, this political organization stressed that it rejects the idea of the SFRY Presidency concerning the scrapping of political democracy in Slovenia. Relje Atanasijevic has the details:

In an announcement for the public, the SDA stressed that agreement was reached at the meeting held in Cankar Hall on 27 February among the majority of Slovene political factors regarding some basic directives concerned with interethnic relations in Yugoslavia and the modernization of political life in Slovenia. However, the statement added that certain subsequent official political assessments led to the conviction that the agreement that was reached represented an unbearable burden for some holders of power.

This claim also relates to the statement by Janez Stanovnik. The SDA reproaches him for, as it says, accepting the assessment of the political position of Yugoslavia imposed by mass meetings and media, primarily in Serbia. The Slovene Democrats were [word indistinct] because Stanovnik said that certain speakers in Cankar Hall presented their own views, which had nothing whatsoever to do with Kosovo.

Citing that Stanovnik was not authorized to give such an assessment, the SDA believes that it is unacceptable that the highest organ of power in Slovenia does not have a clear assessment of the latest events in Yugoslavia, particularly in Serbia and Belgrade. Therefore, it is demanded that a session of all chambers of the Slovene Assembly be called immediately, and it is recommended to the delegates that they present their own assessment, (?based) on the statement by the organizers of the meeting in Cankar Hall.

Another two quotes should be cited from the detailed statement of the SDA. In the first, it is stressed that demands and threats exist that a state of emergency will be introduced into other regions of Yugoslavia and even in Slovenia, even though it has the least possibility for any kind of interethnic conflict.

In the second, the SDA rejects the latest ponderances of the SFRY Presidency on scrapping political democracy in Slovenia.

The SDA concludes its statement with the claim that it insists on the [word indistinct] sovereignty and statehood of its republic, as well as on the extreme right of the Slovene people to self-determination and secession. This right recognizes [words indistinct] if its joint life in Yugoslavia becomes unbearable.

Slovenia Events Said Nothing To Be 'Ashamed of'

AU0303155589 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
1 Mar 89 p 1

[Danilo Slivnik commentary under rubric "Topic of the Day" and headlined "Misdirected Wrath"]

[Text] The events that took place in front of the Federal Assembly in Belgrade yesterday [28 February] and, in general, everything else that happened in Serbia, Montenegro, and elsewhere in the country on the same day most likely put many of us in a bad mood. In addition, some of us perhaps became seriously worried about what is in the offing, what will happen, to where we are moving.... However, precisely at this time, it is true more than ever before that the situation is not as hopeless as it seems and not as black as it is claimed to be by some others—others who only see their political future in emergency conditions.

The fact is that in recent days nothing which we should be especially worried about or even ashamed of has happened in Slovenia, as some meetings elsewhere in the country tried to tell us yesterday. It is probably much closer to the truth that our clearly formulated demands regarding the nature of the state in which we are willing to live or the nature of the state in which we are not willing to live, surprised and angered all those who have calculated in recent weeks that their plans for the state's "great reorganization" are already being realized and who have suddenly found themselves in a great dilemma. Of course, they were able to react only by once again repeating their statements—made on countless past occasions—about the state enemies, counterrevolutionaries, and poor allies.

This is why at this time we can once again resolutely declare that the times when it was possible to summarily silence those who thought differently and to push entire peoples from legal institutions have definitely passed in Yugoslavia, and that this fact cannot be changed by even the biggest meetings, not even those attended by 1 million people.

Slovenes Accused of Waging 'Special War'

AU2302211789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
22 Feb 89 p 11

[Reprint of unattributed commentary from NOVA MAKEDONIJA: "The Slovene Special War"]

[Text] Politics is the skill and art of making something possible—this is the motto of the Slovene official policy. If the Slovenes really think along these lines, and if this motto implies that this Slovene official policy will be practiced, at least in Yugoslavia, then we have reasons not to trust them.

We know that Slovenia strives for reforms and the real economy. However, it appears—and this is not disputed—that in real life, Slovenia's behavior is characterized by exclusiveness, colonial attitudes and actions, and even incomprehensible and impudent moves, forcing an unbearable pace of economic and consumer exhaustion of "weak allies," as if its aim were to totally destroy them. This is a war or the continuation of the policy of achieving the "possible" through other means. This is a war against one's own allies who are experiencing economic difficulties. This is not the classic war, but a form of a special war, the consequences of which do not have to be less catastrophic than those caused by cannon fire.

In the special war which Slovenia has started against other Yugoslav federal units, the most roaring noise comes from prices, prices that are obviously neither the result of the reform winds nor the real economic orientation.

For instance, what is the meaning of the Slovene policy, and what could it "possibly" achieve if today people need 2 million dinars to buy a "made in Slovenia" washing machine (if they can afford it), but tomorrow they need twice as much, 4 million dinars? Similarly, what is the meaning of the situation in which people can buy furniture for 4 million dinars today, but need 9 million dinars for the very same article tomorrow?

In increasing the prices of homogeneous products, nobody else in Yugoslavia is making such price hikes, although one must say that the prices of other producers have not remained the same, either. The Slovenes should be aware of what everybody in the country is aware of—that 75 percent of Yugoslavs live at the existential minimum.

Is the aim of the Slovenes to more and more turn the "rest" of Yugoslavia, particularly the undeveloped parts, into a some kind of window shopper of Slovene products, or is their aim to economically wear out others, particularly those in places where Slovenian goods have established a monopoly and dominated the market? Do Slovenes think that by using their motto of exclusiveness, the exhausting price policy, and superior standard of living they can contribute to the so topical Yugoslav synthesis, and is this synthesis possible for Yugoslavia in view of this strange and unacceptable economic behavior by the Slovenes?

Demand Made for Elected Member To Use Slovene

AU2202125889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 89 p 5

[Slobodan Zikic report: "Which Language Will the President of the SFRY Presidency Speak?"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Feb—We wrote in more detail in Sunday's issue about the widespread electoral activity and the democratization of elections for the member of the SFRY Presidency from the SR of Slovenia. The candidates will have to make a lot of effort in order to meet all the demands of the grass roots. Therefore, Vinko Vasle, for example, who first of all stepped down and then renominated himself, even has his own headquarters, which organizes talks and meetings under the banner "Let's Vote for Vasle."

However, it seems that candidates will also have to meet the demands of some specialist and official institutions. Thus, the Slovene Slavistics Society yesterday publicly called on all the candidates for the SFRY Presidency who would, of course, immediately become president of the SFRY Presidency and then chairman of the Nonaligned Movement after the Belgrade summit, to state whether they will speak Slovene if they are chosen.

"The Slovene Slavistics Society demands that all the Slovene representatives in the federal organs and all sociopolitical organs at the level of the federation use the Slovene language on national and state-representative occasions when they have to speak," said one of the conclusions of the Slavistics conference in Maribor last October.

On this basis, the Slovene Slavistics Society has called on "each candidate for the member of the SFRY Presidency from the SR of Slovenia to clearly state to the voters whether, if they are elected as a member of the Presidency and as its eventual president, they will use the Slovene language, and thereby put into practice the declared principle on the equality of the languages of the peoples of the SFRY. Let them also say whether they also accept the stand of the Slovene Slavistics Society that all our representatives in federal bodies (in their national and state-representative role) should consistently use the Slovene language."

This public invitation was signed by Joze Toporisic, president of the society, and members of the executive council.

Even if one of the candidates answers this ultimatum-like demand from the Slovene Slavistics Society, it is an open question whether they will be able to keep their promise on every occasion, because the future SFRY Presidency president will certainly be in the situation where he will have to communicate with the non-Slovene parts of the SFRY population which do not understand Slovene and, as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, he will certainly have to speak English, German, or even Serbo-Croatian both at home and abroad, as there will not always be an interpreter on hand who knows how to translate Slovene.

Therefore, the public call by the Slovene Slavistics Society is of course, not surprising, although the exclusive nature of this demand is. It is quite normal for the future member of the SFRY Presidency from the SR of

Slovenia to always speak Slovene when possible, when it is necessary and rational, and when it is justified for the purpose of communicating in a better way.

Macedonia's Starova Decries Albanian Separatism

LD0303151889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Excerpts] Kocani, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The policy of greater Albanian nationalism and separatism in Kosovo and beyond represents a hostile policy that not only destabilizes Yugolslavia, but Albania and the Balkans as a whole. As a result, it is imperative for all Albanians to fully understand the causes and consequences of greater Albanian nationalism in their environments, and to fight against this misfortune, primarily because of the Albanian people and the Albanian nationality as a whole.

This was stressed today by Vulnet Starova, president of the Macedonian Assembly, speaking to the political aktiv of Kocani Municipality.

Speaking about the current security situation in Yugolslavia and Macedonia, Starova stresed that the Albanian nationality, its intellectuals, and above all LC members, must be in the forefront of the battle against the enemy. They should restore their self-confidence, but also the belief among other peoples that most who belong to the Albanian nationality are loyal citizens of the Yugoslav socialist federative community and see opportunities for lasting prosperity only in this Yugoslav community, based on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Facist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. He pointed out that the Albanian nationality must understand that greater Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, Macedonia, and Montenegro, which is closely linked to the foreign factor, aspires towards a "greater Albania", and both in the past and today it brings the most harm and lack of prospects precisely to the Albanian people. [passage omitted]

The unsettled situation in Kosovo is becoming a world flashpoint which constantly attracts the attention of foreign political factors, blocs, and the big powers, and the immediate neighbors of our country, above all Albania, which, on the bases of a Yugoslavia torn into peices, wants to build its strategic and other aims.

One thing should be clear to all the enemies of our country, internal and external ones: This country, which has firm support among the vast majority of working people and citizens of all the nations and nationalities of our federative socialist self-managing community, sees its survival and prosperity in an AVNOJ-based Yugoslavia, will not allow anyone to threaten these historical achievements.

According to him, what has been happening in Kosovo over a long period has again confirmed the doctrine of greater Albanian nationalism and separatism. The thesis used in an attempt to justify the demonstrations and strikes—allegedly resulting from constitutional, legal, political, economic, cultural, educational, and other threats and discrimination against the Albanian nationality—is quite transparent.

Suvar, Grosz Hold Joint News Conference

LD2702212389 Budapest MTI in English 2051 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Bilje, February 27 (MTI)—Concluding their talks, Stipe Suvar and Karoly Grosz held a joint press conference on Monday.

Summing up the experience of their talks, Mr Suvar said that what he heard from Karoly Grosz proved that the HSWP and the LCY, Hungary and Yugoslavia were facing similar problems. He emphasized that socialism was undergoing a difficult phase of development all over the world, and said that Hungary, Yugoslavia and other socialist countries, both in Europe and elsewhere, were preparing profound economic and political reforms which make it necessary to change the role of the communist and socialist parties so as to prevent the stagnation of socialism that could lead to the regression of this social system.

The time when a party enjoyed political monopoly and controlled the enthusiasm of the masses had passed. Today, increasing stress is laid on human rights, creative work, and the freedoms of speech and association, Mr Suvar said.

Despite the different crisis phenomena experienced in Hungary and Yugoslavia, the problems of the two countries have many identical features. To discuss them could be useful for both neighbour countries, maintaining very friendly relations, Mr Suvar said and expressed the hope that the current meeting would be followed by similar exchanges of views.

Mr Grosz agreed with the ideas of his partner and expressed the hope that there would be a dynamic upswing in Hungarian-Yugoslav relations.

He emphasized: We have to advance more resolutely on the road set by the great leaders of the two parties, Josip Broz Tito and Janos Kadar. They met on fourteen occasions and always had meaningful talks. I think we follow the same track. Our exchange of views offers great possibilities and untapped intellectual reserves for all of us.' [no opening quotation mark as received]

Mr Grosz emphasized:

'I do not think that the socialist countries are a region hit by the gravest crisis of the world. I am convinced, however, that the tensions and crisis phenomena emerging in socialism require a new approach and new attitudes. For this reason, we must make use of one another's experience.'

The HSWP general secretary added that a braver use should be made of the experience of advanced capitalism, in other words, all progressive and constructive elements should be included in the institutional system of socialism. Concerning the nationality issue, Mr Grosz said that both sides reported on their experience in this field, and expressed their intention of promoting cooperation under the time-honoured principles, and continue political dialogue on the topic.

Concluding his visit to Yugoslavia, Mr Grosz returned to Budapest.

Contents of Talks

LD2702215689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1945 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Beli Manastir, 27 Feb (TANJUG)—In the search for additional ways to develop socialism in our countries, there are some differences, but also many similarities between Yugoslavia and Hungary. This is a reference to the search for solutions in the areas of economic and political reform—redefining the role of the party (the MSZMP and the LCY) and the role of the state, and adopting a new Constitution and various forms of political pluralism. In Hungary a multiparty system is being introduced, and in Yugoslavia it is a case of self-managing political pluralism.

This conclusion emerges from the 5-hour working meeting between Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary, held today not far from the Yugoslav-Hungarian border at the Jelen hunting lodge near Osijek. This was also confirmed by the leaders of the two parties during their meeting with journalists after the talks.

Suvar stressed the great openness of the meeting, although he and Grosz were meeting for the first time. Some socialist countries—Hungary, Yugoslavia, the USSR, Poland, and some others—are now facing a large-scale reform process, Suvar told journalists, adding that it is a matter of reforming ways of thinking and acting in the party and in abolishing the one-party monopoly. An exchange of views on our achievements and difficulties—this is the main significance of today's meeting, which came about at the initiative of the Yugoslav party leadership.

A similar view was also expressed by Karoly Grosz, the leader of the Hungarian communists, also recalling the importance of the dialogues (there were 14 of them) conducted in their time by Tito and Kadar. We are going down the same road, Grosz said, and he advocated a contemporary dialogue both in the spirit of tradition and in the spirit of new cooperation. Here he said that some capitalist experiences should be used, and there should be an approach to them without prejudice; in other words, what is a priority for the development of socialism should be accepted.

Grosz also expressed the hope that cooperation between the two countries and parties regarding national minorities will continue to develop on the basis of principles already adopted.

Before meeting the journalists, the heads of the two parties, along with their colleagues, carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on current events in the two countries. There was discussion in particular of the latest situation in Kosovo and the measures which have been taken in Yugoslavia to overcome the dramatic situation in this province. "The state must ensure that vital institutions continue to function," Suvar said. The current preventive measures have been taken in order to prevent more serious disruptions and the possible greater threat to property. The most important thing now is for the miners to preserve their health; there must be no victims, he said.

Speaking about MSZMP-LCY relations, Karoly Grosz said that Hungary has a strategic interest in Yugoslavia as a stable, nonaligned, socialist, and united country. In this context, he expressed support for the course which the LCY is now taking, and at the same time paid special tribute to the policy of our country vis-a-vis the solution of the problems of the nationalities, in other words the national minorities.

The Hungarian communist leader gave a very detailed and thorough analysis of the situation in his country, recalling its development since 1956.

In reference to the events of 1956 and an assessment of them, Grosz said the MSZMP is not revising its official view, but is going back to it. He noted that soon after October 1956 (the same standpoint remained valid until July 1957), the events were described as a popular uprising which threatened to turn into a counterrevolution. After 1957, Grosz said, the events were interpreted in a one-sided way with the accent on counterrevolution. We are now again adopting the initial official assessments of the events.

The MSZMP general secretary spoke in greater detail about the changes in the political system, stressing that the country's new Constitution—to be promulgated by the end of the year—envisions the socialist character of the country and the guaranteeing of its foreign policy output. In this framework, all parties will operate, in other words, a multiparty system will be introduced.

Stipe Suvar invited Grosz to make an official visit to Yugoslavia, and this was accepted with pleasure. The talks between the two party leaders were continued at a luncheon given by the host for his distinguished guest, and at about 1700 Grosz departed for Hungary and Suvar for Belgrade.

Participating in the talks on the Yugoslav side, apart from Suvar, were Vasil Tupurkovski, Stanko Stojcevic, Stanislav Stojanovic, Aleksandr Sekulovic, and Rudi

Sova, and on the Hungarian side, apart from Grosz, were Janos Lukacs, a member of the MSZMP Politburo, and Sandor Gyorke, the Hungarian ambassador to Yugoslavia.

Suvar Comments on Opposition to Candidacy

*LD0203135289 Belgrade TANJUG in Engish
1225 GMT 2 Mar 89*

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav party Presidency President Dr Stipe Suvar has stated that he is not upset that the Republic of Serbia and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina have opposed his candidacy for a member of the Yugoslav state Presidency.

"What is involved are the opinions of a narrow circle of people in the very leaderships of the Socialist Alliances of Serbia and Vojvodina," Suvar said in a statement published in the dailies BORBA of Belgrade and VJESNIK of Zagreb today. Suvar specified that "not a single argument" against his candidacy had been presented.

"A part of the public in Serbia and Vojvodina could be misinformed about me, my convictions, positions and behaviour also thanks to a powerful and unscrupulous propaganda-information machinery which is imputing to me a great many things and taking me to task simply because I do not support in many ways the policy in whose service that machinery is," Suvar said.

Stipe Suvar expressed the conviction that, if the citizens were directly to elect the Presidency of Yugoslavia, he would "not fare too poorly in Serbia and Vojvodina."

Serbia and Vojvodina voiced oppositon to Suvar's candidation for state Presidency membership at yesterday's Socialist Alliance federal conference session.

The session established a list of 29 candidates for the eight-member state presidency. The list includes Stipe Suvar who won the most votes after secret ballots in communal socialist alliance organizations and then at the republican candidation conference.

Early this year, a special Vojvodina party conference requested Suvar's dismissal from the post of Yugoslav party head. Mass demonstrations in Vojvodina last October caused the dismissal of the entire provincial leadership.

Serbia's party Presidency joined the request, but Suvar rejected accusations against him from Serbia and Vojvodina at the 20th League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee session, qualifying them as untrue and lies.

29 Candidates Nominated for State Presidency

*LD0103185689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1731 GMT 1 Mar 89*

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—The Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia on Wednesday confirmed a list of 29 candidates for the eight-member Presidency of Yugoslavia.

This brings to a close this responsible task assigned to the largest Yugoslav political organization, the Socialist Alliance, under the constitutional amendments.

The majority of candidates received the support of representatives of the republican and provincial Socialist Alliance organizations.

The nominations of Stipe Suvar, current president of the Yugoslav Party Presidency, and Remzi Koljgeci, current president of the Presidency of Kosovo Province, were objected to by the organizations of the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Vojvodina, and that of Vojvodina candidate Mihalj Kertes by Slovenia.

Serbia and Vojvodina claimed that Suvar cannot be member of the collective head of state since he had lost confidence of Serbia citizens, and Koljgeci because of a lack of determination in dealng with the Kosovo crisis.

Slovenia did not accept the nomination of Kertes because of his yesterday's statement allegedly aimed against this republic. The Slovenian representative quoted Kertes as saying that the Slovenian leadership should be "calmed down."

Today's declaration by the Socialist Alliance leadership was not a formal matter but part of a preliminary procedure to help the republican and provincial socialist alliance organizations finally decide on the candidates.

The session was also told that the procedure, in spite of some shortcomings, has enabled a greater influence of citizens on the choice of candidates.

The Yugoslav Socialist Alliance leadership repeated an earlier statement that in confirming the final list of candidates for the state Presidency, care should be taken that its members should have a good reputation and authority throughout Yugoslavia.

The list includes the names of three candidates from each of the five republics of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Slovenia. Serbia has four candidates, Vojvodina also four, and Kosovo, which has not yet decided whether its candidate should be of Albanian, Serbian, or Montenegrin nationality, six—three ethnic Albanians and three Serbs.

Each republic and province is entitled to choose one representative for the state Presidency. The final election of representatives will be carried out by the republican and provincial assemblies by May 15 this year.

Markovic Receives USSR's Katushev in Zagreb

LD0103145489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1302 GMT 1 Mar 89

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Mar (TANJUG)—Today in Zagreb, Ante Markovic, president-designate of the Federal Executive Council, had talks with Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, about current economic trends and economic cooperation between the two countries. The search for new directions in development in the two countries encourages research into new forms of bilateral cooperation, which has reached a high level.

During the talks, the harmonized protocol on bilateral cooperation this year, worth almost $6 billion, was assessed in positive terms. Since this is an increase of $200 million over last year, both sides agreed that there has been a halt in the trend toward stagnation in bilateral economic relations.

Considerable attention was devoted to the USSR'S adverse trade balance with Yugoslavia, which was described as an obstacle to the further development of cooperation between the two countries. Both sides agreed that this obstacle must be overcome, but not at the expense of the overall volume of trade which, it was said, should be further stimulated.

Issues of long-term cooperation in the energy industry, services, cooperation, and ways to better utilize the results of scientific achievements, studies, and projects were also considered.

The talks were attended by Nenad Krekic, federal secretary of foreign economic relations; Ivica Trnokop, member of the Croat Executive Council; and Vadim Loginov, the USSR ambassador to Yugoslavia.

The Soviet minister today toured the Prvomajska machine tool plant of Zagreb and left for Belgrade early this afternoon.

Markovic's 'New Socialism' Model Described

AU2302153889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Feb 89 p 3

[Momcilo Djorgovic commentary: "Either Anesthesia or Reform"]

[Text] Just a few words are sometimes enough to create hope. This was what premier-designate Ante Markovic did less than 1 month ago. What he said has been heard before; what makes it important now is the broader social context, the still insufficiently justified impression that a complete change is about to occur, and the fact that what he said is in a way an explanation for the fall of Mikulic's government.

Markovic's rather terse plea for what he called "new socialism" includes a possible pattern of a great change. At the center he puts a rich and motivated man, the competition of abilities, a rich society, a legal state, market, economic efficiency, and political pluralism. Therefore, the central position does not belong to the basic institutional perfectionism, behind which the huge and uncontrolled power of politocrats hide, but a living person and his daily needs.

Suspicious Questions

It might have been wiser not to call this option "new socialism," although its different variants have been accepted even by the institutions, because this very phrase has caused suspicion, as well as some worried and even resolute reactions.

When the new premier was presented to the public, General Daljevic expressed interest in the character of "new socialism." If press reports are accurate, some questions were also asked last week at the session of the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Belgrade LC City Committee. Thus, Aleksandar Ivic was of the opinion that terms such as "Yugoslav synthesis," "new socialism," "legal state," and "civilian society" are only a disguise for our inability to overcome differences. Danilo Markovic warned that "new socialism" must not be identified with deviating from the foundations, but only a way to realize them. Since the reform of the party would be an essential prerequisite for "new socialism," it was interesting to hear Zoran Todorovic's reaction. According to him, the LCY reform is a pure bureaucratic mystification which should be taken off the agenda, because Communists have already carried out the reform on the issues of clearing up the LC's attitude toward democratic processes in the country. Whether the LCY Central Committee will comply with this is, in Todorovic's opinion, the question of overcoming the party bureaucracy.

However, the most violent reaction to "new socialism" was expressed in an interview by "Zarathustra of Vojvodina," Djordje Scepanovic. According to him, Ante Markovic's "new socialism" can be perfectly equated with the "democratic socialism" of the revisionist Djilas. Scepanovic offers the old paradigm of the relationship between the party and society, according to which the party, that is, its leadership, is the center of society. In regard to policy, the only thing that society can offer are "pressures from below," which then support the "tendencies in party leaderships themselves."

This kind of reaction, both in its milder and stronger form, should be accepted as the proper way to express an attitude which has considerable support (that is, if we want a three-dimensional and not just phraseological democracy). Such reactions are even more understandable if we realize that our "opening" along main roads has not gone much farther than mere words, which means that we have firmly remained in one place. True, the new Law on Enterprises and Banks has opened the door a little in the sphere of the economy (although the character of ownership relations has not been essentially changed). The door has also been held ajar in the sphere of foreign policy. There is an official willingness to adjust to world changes and to open up toward Europe. Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, remarked recently that the Nonaligned Movement should not turn into an association of fighters for anticolonial policy or a trade union for the poor of the world. It is encouraging that these views correspond to the new premier's "new socialism," although, regardless of the changed circumstances, party disunity, and the appearance of various movements and initiatives, the central core of the internal policy is still virgo intacta.

In other socialist countries, above all the USSR, Poland, and especially in Hungary, democratization seems to be in an irreversible swing. Elections for Soviet parliament deputies have assumed all the characteristics of "bourgeois elections." A deputy is now obliged to create his campaign headquarters, composed of at least 10 loyal people. The headquarters has the right to organize electoral meetings in collectives as well as in local and social organizations. A candidate can collect money for his campaign from citizens and collectives, and can buy television time and space in newspapers. He is even permitted to attack the program of his opponent.

The MSZMP is making room for a multiparty system in the interest of the development of democracy and in the name of people's sovereignty and a legal state.

When Ante Markovic concluded that the present type of socialism was involved in an overall crisis, he probably meant that the authorities are no longer capable of organizing changes that would result in maximum economic results without political risks. The current crisis of socialism has brought the legitimacy of the authorities into the focus of attention. A war against society or the various forms of consensus between the party and society are no longer possible. Achieving a new basis for legitimacy implies changing the political identity—the monopolistic role of the party, the party state, and directive [komandni] or (in our country) consensus economy.

A Model Which Has Been Used Up

There are so far two models of the "normalization" of crisis: Hungarian and Czechoslovak. The former has embarked upon radical political and economic reforms, and the latter is surviving on the so-called "anesthesia of society." Their experience shows that as long as the authorities are strong and society is too weak for real reforms—despite the fact that the reforms are announced—there are few chances for them. The problems of identity and legitimacy appear when leaderships in state socialism concede to real reforms, but do so only when they have brought the situation to its worst—when society has least confidence in them. The fact that the claims that "possibilities of the present model of socialism are used up" are arriving from the highest places, even in Bulgaria, show that the times have changed. In our country, however, there are still some people who do not agree with this.

Citizens of socialist countries no longer recognize the legitimacy of the "God-given" type, only the legitimacy of politicians who "lead the community for the benefit of everybody's welfare." What is demanded now is the deideologization [deideologizacija] of society (after all, parties are left without ideology anyhow) and the chance to activate the "people without party membership cards." The party may remain, but it cannot use its status of vanguard in order to continue harboring uninventive self-satisfaction and maintaining it by denying legitimacy to any creative and progressive thought.

Ante Markovic believes that "there is a sufficient number of progressive people and forces in this system, as well as sufficient motivation to find a way out of this situation by using their power." Therefore, he does not support the revival of the classical variant presented by the "Zarathustra of Vojvodina," who sees a Politburo as the "creator of society," and leaders in the role of supermen [German word "uebermensch" used]. Such ideas lead us to the distant foundations upon which the Bolshevik Party was organized. Chernyshevskiy [Russian writer Nikolay Gavrilovich Chernyshevskiy (1828-1889)] (whose influence in the creation of the Bolshevik Party was great) wrote about New People, revolutionaries who, when seen within a mass of people, are like tannin in tea or a bouquet in a good wine; they give it scent and power, they are the best flowers, the motor of motors, and the salt of salts in a country."

It seems that some people are experiencing a revival of the old ethos of arrogance and the idolization of "simple" and "obvious" solutions offered by ascetic new young people who are to the people what tannin is to tea. According to Rakhmetova (hero of Chernyshevskiy's novel "What Is To Be Done"), society is the field of action and politics is only a technique.

Will the "Politburo" be organized again on the principle of Russian "circles" [kruzok], which had the function of the matrix for revolutionary action? The circles excluded any discussion that had no connections with direct and obligatory tasks, lest they be turned into "debating clubs." When we want to solve the present situation, do we need people who, when they join the circle, forget love, friendship, and all special interests, even their own names in order to be able to devote themselves to a single interest, a single thought, and a single passion—the revolution? Does one need a party that would insist on its "line" at any cost and first push the intelligentsia onto the sidelines because the intelligentsia is always liberal? Does one need a party in which any search for different ways out of the crisis and the acceptance of imperatives imposed by life and reality are stigmatized as opportunism? Consequently, will "opportunism" in tactics be rejected as reformism, "opportunism" in doctrine as revisionism, and "opportunism" in organization as the elimination of the party? Can one avoid the party rightists who "lead us into compromises and capitulation," and leftists who forget the position of power in the name of the permanent revolution?

Many of these "deviations," as well as our present party disintegration—which as a rule, appear whenever the party faces a crisis or difficulties—can be avoided by a "Copernican change": What should be placed at the center is the man and not an institution, the market and not the state, and pluralism, not barren monopoly. This in fact is not that much, but it is better when it is small but better, even if it is called "new socialism." Otherwise, sclerosis will come by itself.

State, Party Reforms of LCY Plenum Praised

AU2202101889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 89 p 3

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Cadre Tribulations"]

[Text] The 21st session of the LCY Central Committee was held last Friday without the usual overstrained political atmosphere, that is, without name-calling and demands that this plenum also be broadcast live. This time, the meeting was not proclaimed in advance as "historic," but as a working attempt at the cadre transformation of the highest party leadership in this bottleneck that has been present in our political life in the past few years.

This was a great political spring-cleaning. Some packed their cases to depart and others packed them to arrive at the Central Committee. It calculated the costs of the first LCY conference (on cadre renewal) and various political and other affairs. All in all, more time was spent in intervals for voting and the counting of votes than in conducting a thorough debate. And that is probably the way it should have been....

For the first time since the war, the most senior state officials and not even the president of the SFRY Presidency will be in the central party leadership. This was decided by the first LCY conference, which strove to separate state and party power; the LCY Central Committee more or less completely implemented this stand at the 21st session. Mojsov, Dolanc, Vlajkovic, and Hasani had departed earlier, and this was done last Friday by Raif Dizdarevic, the president of the SFRY Presidency himself, while resolutely resisting strong attempts from some parts of the LCY to get him to stay in the LCY Central Committee. Only Josip Vrvovec is still in the Central Committee, and Stipe Suvar announced at the session itself that he was ready "to submit his resignation."

Even though this operation was carried out quietly, without departing speeches, it will undoubtedly be of great significance for the future activities of the party leadership. Whether it wants to or not, the Central Committee will have to strengthen its independence and nonreliance on state power. It is not far from the truth to say that it will have to more frequently appear as some kind of opposition to it, and less as an ally. This is because such a marriage was only useful to those who saw it as an unlimited opportunity to ensure, among other things, comfort for themselves and for their nearest and dearest.

There have not been an inconsiderable number of these, even in this Central Committee. The "Agrokomerc" and Neum affairs removed many of the previous bards from Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslav politics. The latest departure of Nikola Stojanovic, Milanko Renovica, Mata Andric, and Hrvoje Istuk is only an illustration of the political and moral disruption among quite a large section of our politicians. The way in which they—especially Nikola Stojanovic, secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium for many years, and Milanko Renovica, president of the Presidium after the 13th LCY Congress—did this at the 21st session casts a shadow both on their personalities and even more so on the system which for many years "manufactured" this kind of politician, who was ready for anything, but not for personal renunciations.

The departure of Petar Matic, a man who has not been absent from newspaper columns for months, also deserves particular attention. Pressed on all sides by a veritable torrent of name-calling, the most serious political criticisms from some communities, and a lack of confidence from the grass roots, Matic was aware (and this he did not conceal) that the 21st session was his last chance to attack the Yugoslav political scene. He accompanied his departure with serious criticisms of Central Committee, saying that it had "legalized the practice of an unjustified struggle for power with its opportunism," and "that it allowed accounts to be settled with those of its members who were not ready to accept criticisms and blackmail." The attitude of the LCY Central Committee toward this "flood of aggressiveness forces the highest party leadership to be concerned with itself and conflicts in its own ranks...."

The LC supposedly did not protect from "verbal violence and mud-slinging those of its members against whom a well-organized and coordinated campaign has been and is being conducted...." Saying that in the last few months he had been accused in a way "that not even the occupiers during the war used," Matic warned that the LCY "must make sure that the spirit of Vyshinskiy [Andrey Vyshinskiy, chief prosecutor in Stalin's show trials] does not seep into its ranks and its organization, through the back door.

It remains to be further analyzed whether the unusually calm way in which Matic spoke or even his fairly open contribution to the analysis of the present political wars in our country—in which, as he said, the highest LCY leadership unconsciously, fearfully, and opportunistically found itself, and was even gripped by its destructive effect—influenced the result of the secret ballot on the proposed dismissal of Matic from the LCY Central Committee, which did not give the result that was expected, especially in the Vojvodina LC.

The general was not dismissed (he "won" less than half the votes "for" his replacement), but he himself nevertheless announced immediately after the results of the vote that he was submitting his resignation, which received different reactions in the great hall of the SFRY Assembly. Even Matic himself realized that he could not continue to survive "without the grass roots and without a vote of confidence," and that his continued presence in the LCY Central Committee would only worsen relations further, which would be torture for himself and for others, and would revive the impassioned debate on the conflict between coalitions.... In this way, General Matic said what he had to say, was indemnified in some way by the Central Committee in the result of the voting, and then left.

It has not, however, been discounted that in the next few days the "Matic case" will again stir up political passions among the politicized public. There were several more examples from the deluge of ballots—Sinisa Batalo's "record" (he received a total of 10 votes in the ballot for member of the Presidium), the nonelection of Dr Milos Aleksic and Zoran Todorovic as members of the LCY Central Committee, the withholding of a vote of confidence for Malo Djukanovic (for member of the Presidium), whose electoral fate could again bring to the surface the debate on the existing or possibly changed balance of power in the highest party leadership.

We will see whether this has really changed at the March plenum of the LCY Central Committee, when the session is attended by the newly elected members of the leadership and when another serious dilemma will be faced concerning the organization of a 14th premature (or regular) or extraordinary LCY congress, its elements, and finally, the question of who will prepare it.

'Armor'89' Exercises Held Near Ljubljana

LD0203181789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—In connection with citizens' questions about the flights of military aircraft above Ljubljana and Maribor in the past 2 days, Janko Kusar, the republican secretariat for national defense and secretary, today announced that the flights were the component part of the activities and exercises "Armor'89," which will last from 28 February to 3 March this year. The exercise is envisioned by the annual program of exercises of the republican [word indistinct]

The units of the Ljubljana military district, territorial defense, as well as some organs of the Postojna and Notranjsko municipalities and local communities are taking part in it. The activities within the framework of the exercise are under way in the broad area of Notranjsko, especially in the Sezana and Postojna municipalities. For reasons of economizing, the regular training of some units of air defense is simultaneously under way; therefore, flights of the aircraft are also being carried out within the broader territory of the republic.

Maneuvers Termed 'Favorable'

LD0303153589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Pivka, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—The 3-day combined tactical exercise, "Armor 89", in which units of the Ljubljana corps and other structures of all-people's defense and social self-protection have been taking part, ended today in Slovenia.

The preliminary assessment of the leadership of the exercise is very favorable.

New M77 Multiple Rocket Launcher Presented

AU2302221889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 89 p 10

[B.S. report: "'The Fire'"]

[Text] The self-propelled launcher of 128 mm rockets, the M77 ("The Fire") [oganj], is meant to provide massive fire support from a long distance and act against very important and large targets on land. The 32 rockets of 128 mm can be fired in only 15 seconds and could hit targets 20 km away. The loading of rockets can be done either automatically or manually. The launcher can be prepared for operation in 20 seconds. The rockets carry a head with a special armor piercing ammunition. Each head contains 500 pellets.

Commentary Defends Military Spending Policy

AU2302185789 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 89 pp 4, 5

[Colonel Radovan Matijasevic commentary: "Tendentious 'Pondering'"]

[Excerpts] The last issue of NASA OBRAMBA carries an article by Teodor Gersak entitled "Are Our Allocations for the Army Really the Smallest in Europe, and Are Our Soldiers the Least Expensive?" In this fairly long article, the continuation of which has already been announced will be in the next issue of NASA OBRAMBA, the author is trying in a confused, contradictory, and incorrect way to refute the claim that we have one of the least expensive armies, an army with the shortest conscript service, and the lowest per soldier expenditure in Europe. In doing so, he stresses that the data used during the discussion on constitutional amendments and the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] was "stretched" and "clumsily" interpreted, and that it therefore, gives a completely "distorted" picture.

"Intending" to analyze the data on the size of armies and military expenditure "from several aspects, and to classify them according to certain parameters," the author states at the very beginning that he will not go into the "assessment of the geostrategic positions of some regions and states, nor will he try to assess their real or imagined imperilment or their mutual relations." By saying this, Gersak is making a big mistake at the very beginning because a well-argued discussion on the size of an army and military expenditure cannot be conducted without taking into account the basic determinants, above all, the countries' military-political and geostrategic positions and the actual threat to their security. This rule is respected by all authors in our country and throughout the world who want to carry out an objective analysis, in theory and practice, and to make politically relevant conclusions.

In his analysis of the size of armies and military expenditure, the author attaches the greatest importance to the following: the size of the country, the number of citizens, population density, and the GNP. Unfortunately, not only are these parameters not sufficient for a serious analysis, because they do not take into account the aforementioned determinants, but they directly distort the picture of the subject that is examined, something the author is allegedly fighting against.

Considering the relation between the size of a country and the size of its "permanent" army, Gersak, in order to prove the validity of his theses, always compares us with the neighboring and European neutral and nonaligned countries (Sweden, Finland, Switzerland, Cyprus, and Malta). Drawing the conclusion that in relation to our neighbors, and in view of the size of our territory, we have the second largest peacetime military force, and that in relation to European neutral and nonaligned countries we have the largest army, the author makes new errors of principle because he ignores several important factors.

Comparing us with the neighboring countries, Gorsak fails to observe the fact that five of them (five out of six) are members of military-political groupings and that on their territory there are foreign military bases, units, and facilities for bloc armed forces. [passage omitted]

One-Sided Interpretation of Military Expenditure

Under the subtitle "Our Army Is Not the Most Expensive in Europe," the author comments on the relationship between military expenditure and GNP. It is obvious from the data presented by Gorsak that our expenditure for defense is well below the world average (4.85 percent of the GNP as compared with the world average of 6.13 percent). Gersak himself points out that all neighboring countries and non-bloc European countries allocate more for defense per member of the population. However, since these facts do not suit him, he introduces into his argument another factor, the size of the realized GNP, and claims that our expenditure, seen from this point of view is higher, in comparison, with all the countries in question except Greece. [passage omitted]

An article with this kind of ambition should have elaborated and analyzed the time series of this data rather than concentrate on only 1 single year. This would reveal a completely reversed trend of military expenditure in Yugoslavia compared with that in the neighboring and other European countries. This would show that military expenditure has been rising throughout the world while in Yugoslavia it has been falling continuously.

For the sake of illustration let us recall that in the 1976-1980 period the social plan envisaged that 6.17 percent of the national income would be needed for army; between 1981 and 1985 the military expenditure would be 5.8 percent of the national income; and for the current period the social plan envisages that 5.2 percent of the national income will be needed for the Army. In fact, the real expenditure was always different: In the first above mentioned period the real expenditure was 5.59 percent of the national income and in the second it was 4.5 percent. In the current medium-term period, under the pressure of economic difficulties, the Army's needs will be at a considerably lower level than that envisaged (in 1987, 4.94 percent; in 1988, 4.94 percent; in 1989, 4.90 percent). However, even this corrected planned expenditure has not been followed and in the last 3 years the YPA received considerably less money. In 1988, the funds for the Army were less than 4 percent of the national income in real terms.

Imaginary Increase of Army Budget

In the part of the article which refers to the export of arms, military equipment, and engineering, the author demonstrates a complete lack of knowledge about the real situation and interprets things in a completely wrong way. Let us look at some known facts:

First, our armaments and military equipment industry represents an integral part of the whole of the Yugoslav industry and carries out all its business affairs as the "civilian" part of the industry. That also applies to its export side. The status of every organization of associated labor in the armaments and military equipment industry is identical to the status of all other organizations in the domestic industry. Regulating the rights and obligations of the associated labor organizations in the special purpose industry (on the basis of the law on the production of armaments and military equipment adopted by the SFRY Assembly in June of 1979) does not question the basic self-managing rights of the producers of armaments and military equipment.

Second, the Federal Directorate for Sale and Reserves of Special Purpose Products is the only body involved in the export of armaments and military equipment, including military engineering. It has the same status as similar organization at the federal level. Everything that concerns the export of armaments, military equipment, and military engineering is regulated through joint agreements between this directorate and the exporting associated labor organizations.

Third, the participation of the army institutions in the export of armaments, military equipment, and military engineering boils down to providing expert help to the Federal Directorate and the exporting associated labor organizations, and does not involve any financial compensation.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned facts, the real situation is as follows: Not a single dollar, or dinar, that is earned through the export of arms, military equipment, and military engineering enters into the YPA's budget. Therefore, the author's assumption that "at least a part" of the proceeds from exports represents a "part of the YPA's budget" is absolutely incorrect and extremely tendentious, especially because a sum of $300 million and even $2 billion was mentioned. This also applies to the claim that the Federation's non-budgetary expenditure is "partly used for the YPA." The SFRY Assembly delegates and our public are fully aware that the only source of the YPA's financing consists of the funds that are approved within the federal budget.

Solutions From the Well-Known Arsenal

If he wanted to be objective, the author could have easily established the real state of affairs by approaching any director of any associated labor organization on the territory of the SR of Slovenia which export armaments, military equipment, and military engineering, such as "Iskra"—CEO [expansion unknown]; "Iskra"—Electroveze; SMELT; SCT; and so forth. By not doing this, the author has come up with an imagined increase in the army budget and the "cost of the SFRY's defense," something that can only confuse uninformed readers.

In the conclusion of his article, the author states that by "realizing the planned 12-percent cut in the Army's combat section, which would correspond to the size of our territory, we would become the smallest permanent army in the southern European military arena and in Europe." However, he immediately stresses that by doing this we would not have any significant savings, although he had previously persistently tried to prove that we have a big Army and that the Army is too big a burden for the population, and we therefore, ought to follow the practice and experience of Austria, Switzerland, Ireland, Cyprus, and Malta. [passage omitted]

It is known that the author, Teodor Gersak, is a lecturer at the Faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology, and Journalism in Ljubljana. It is for this reason that we ask ourselves how he interprets to his students our defense and self-protection policy and practice. We would also like to know how NASA OBRAMBA, a very respectable paper, could publish this poorly argued, theoretically unfounded, ideopolitically controversial, and tendentious text.

Albania Asked To Explain Report on Kosovo

LD0503101489 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 2100 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Representatives of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs have forwarded to the Albanian ambassador a note in which the Albanian Government is asked to provide an explanation, in connection with a recent report by its diplomatic mission, to the United Nations concerning events in Kosovo. The Yugoslav Government is most angry about the sentence which says that it is the duty of Albania and of everyone interested in Yugoslavia's stability to defend the rights of the Albanian people in Yugoslavia.

In any case, the assessment of foreign comment is that Belgrade and Tirana may well break off diplomatic relations because it can almost be taken for granted that following the possible trial of a group of senior Albanian officials now being interrogated [in Kosovo] Albania may well be accused of having played a role in that Yugoslav province.

Additional Report

LD0203181489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1711 GMT 2 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—Certain statements, commentaries and pamphlets which have recently been coming from Tirana are obviously contradictory to the recent assurances by senior Albanian officials on relations with Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference in Belgrade today.

Commenting on Tirana's latest attacks on the Yugoslav Government's policy, Vajgl said that Albania, as well as certain Albanian emigrant organizations, were increasingly frequently raising the question of the position of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia.

Though we can understand the emotions and interest in Tirana, we cannot understand the misinformation and extremely malicious treatment of Yugoslavia's policy, not only in that area but on the whole, Vajgl emphasized.

The rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia cannot be compared with their status anywhere else, Vajgl added.

Vajgl also said that "one official Albanian commentary calls on foreign factors to engage themselves on questions which are exclusively Yugoslavia's internal affair."

The contradictory attitude of Tirana, which on one hand assures its Balkan colleagues of its readiness for cooperation and good-neighbourly relations and on the other, gives open support to Albanian separatists in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, has been pointed out to the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, the spokesman said.

Albanian Attitude Toward Kosovo Events Assessed

LD0303195389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 3 Mar 89

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Mar (TANJUG)—It could not have been expected that there would be a different reply from Tirana to the analytically and politically restrained description of the backgrond of events in Kosovo, given by Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, on Wednesday. According to the rule that a good offense is the best defense, in which Albanian propaganda has truly achieved an enviable level (both when it comes to aggressiveness of words and the skill in distorting facts), Tirana reacted quickly, denying everything and insinuating all kinds of things.

Let's start with Albania's claim that its motives are the "justified demands of Albanians in Yugoslavia" for "the preservation of the autonomy" of Kosovo and "the defense of their history, languages, and culture".

If the issue is the autonomy of Albanians in Kosovo (therefore, in Serbia and Yugoslavia as well), it is indeed in jeopardy, because there can be no question of it at all according to any constituton or international law. And if the issue is the autonomy of Kosovo as a province within Serbia and, hence Yugoslavia, this autonomy has never been called into question in any way by anything, even after the changes to the constitutions of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

However, at the same time it must be clear that it is a matter of autonomy to which all citizens of the provinces are entitled regardless of their proportion of the entire population. Just because Albanians form eight-tenths of the population of Kosovo, it does not mean that they can count upon some kind of special autonomy, greater than the autonomy of Serbs and Gypsies, Montenegrins, Croats or members of other nations and nationalities.

Tirana is accusing us of creating a false picture of it and blaming it for the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

If the issue really is that of creating a false picture, manipulation with facts and their fabricated presentation to the domestic and foreign public (this is a different story and a different Albanian mood!) if, only speaking, it is a matter of slandering, this mainly refers to Albania itself and its long-standing attitude. What different words can we use to describe Albania's persistent repetition of lies about the "abolition of autonomy" of Kosovo than insolent encouragement.

TANJUG Attacks Albanian Media 'Propaganda'

LD0503224289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2103 GMT 5 Mar 89

[Text] Pristina, March 5 (TANJUG)—Albania's propaganda, with its well-known anti-Yugoslav and paternalistic qualifications, has escalated considerably over the past few days, notes a Sunday evening Albanian-language commentary by Radio-Television Pristina.

These new attacks on Yugoslavia are new attempts to internationalize the problems of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, an integral part of the Republic of Serbia, i.e. the problems of ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, the commentary warns.

Radio-Television Pristina notes that the Albanian party daily ZERI I POPULLIT's propaganda kitchen has served an article titled "The Path of Violence and Arbitrarism is not Resolving the Problems of Kosovo" and concludes that the article confirms that Tirana and its propaganda are acting based on the recipe that attack is the best defense and using the method of the distortion of facts.

Radio-Television Pristina points out that the basic characteristic of all commentaries, official statements and numerous articles in Albania is Tirana's insistence on playing the role of arbitrator in inter-nationality relations in Yugoslavia and of irreplaceable protector of "jeopardized" Albanians.

The commentary also notes that what is concerned is the offering of recipes to Yugoslavia on how to settle internal relations, including the nationality question and the territorial organization of the state.

For Albania, all that is not in keeping with this constitutes "The persecution of an genocide against the Albanian people and not only in Kosovo, but in other parts of Yugoslavia as well," Radio-Television Pristina emphasizes.

Radio-Television Pristina points out that as far as neighbouring Albania and its stand towards Yugoslavia are concerned, such an attitude is not in keeping with the verbal assurances of its leaders on good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

The first condition for good-neighbourly relations is for Albania to abandon its paternalistic and unprincipled policy, concludes the Radio-Television Pristina commentary.

Albanian Writer's Thesis About Serbs Denied

LD2402145889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0007 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, February 24 (TANJUG)—Ismail Kadae, Alabania's best-known writer, is calling first on the Balkan peoples to "bury the spirit of chavinism" only then to find to blame for the drama-filled developments in the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, not ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists but the Serbian people which, by reason of its historical "complex of inferiority, keeps stirring chauvinist winds up."

In its February issue, Le Monde Diplomatique, a French monthly, came out carrying an article by Kadare, but remarked that fundamental rights are recognized to Kosovo's ethnic Albanians and, thus, dissociated itself in a way from the Albanian writer's stands on ethnic Albanians being threatened in the said province.

Kadare assures his readers of "Albanian separatism being accused though innocent" and claims that "the exodus of ethnic Albanians exceeds the exodus of local Serbs" in numbers, i.e. local Serbs and Montenegrins keep moving out of Kosovo for economic motives, whereas ethnic Albanians do so on account of political pressures.

Kadare indirectly misrepresents Yugoslavia as a police state, claiming that persecutions of the Serbian population in Kosovo "are impossible" because it enjoys support from the Army and police.

In doing so, Kadare fully ignores the background of goings on Kosovo and the fact that 30,000 local Serbs and Montenegrins have moved out of that province since 1981 being kept exposed to pressures at the hands of ethnic Albanian nationalists and separatists. Consequently, Kosovo's population made up by about 80 per cent of ethnic Albanians has become all but ethnically pure.

No matter how much is acceptable Kadare's stand that the Balkan peninsula is not doomed by fate to frictions among nations living on it and that among its peoples to be found are striking points in common, so much unacceptable is his thesis that some peoples are predestined by history to be the carriers of progress and togetherness, whereas some others are predisposed to be envious, to hate and disunite.

In Kadare's thinking, a chavinist psychosis came into being as early as during the rule of the Ottoman Empire when, in an "ill-ominous race" for prestige, ethnic Albanians, Greeks and Jews came to key-posts in the power structure and, so, acquired superiority complex, whereas Serbs "dropped out of the race" and won inferiority complex instead forever.

Within the context of developments now, Kadare sees it, the "gramdomania" of Albanians and Greeks has become harmless, whereas the opposite mania has given birth to unhealthy passions among Serbs, nurturing their chauvinism.

Neither past nor present reasons for nationalist feelings growing stronger among the Albanians can justify their "superiority complex feelings" by which Kadare tries to justify and cover chauvinist attempts at turning Kosovo into an ethnically pure area and having it constituted as a republic.

The goings-on in Kosovo at present are "a historical right" only based on the Albanians' Illyrian descent and on the thesis that this territory is part of their history, Kadare considers.

Kadare then indulges in adding proofs of whose right to the territory of Kosovo is greater and says that the Serbian state's flourishing in the 14th century A.D. cannot have started earlier than in the 8th century A.D. Since there were no Serbs living there at that time, whereas that territory was to a large degree already inhabited by Albanians.

The drama-filled goings-on in Kosovo have their past, but since protests voiced by local Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo are not based on the size and frontiers of the Serbian empire at the time so there are no grounds for grandomania felt by ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and other Albanians in Albania on account of their Illyrian origin and loyalty to the Turkish sultan in the Istanbul of the time.

In the name of the bridges of friendship and goodneighbourliness the cause of chauvinism should be buried, as Kadare himself calls them, including his superiority feelings.

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